

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE BLACK POWER CLASSROOM: AN
ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL APPROACH TO
TEACHING AFRICAN HERITAGE
AWARENESS THROUGH MUSIC
EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA AND
AFRICAN AMERICA

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Thesis Directed By: J. Lawrence Witzleben, School of Music

The Black Power Classroom uses ethnomusicology to understand how culturally responsive music education is used to teach African American and Botswanan children their African heritage. I first interrogate the colonality of minstrelsy and the distortion of Black America's African heritage that warrants the need for African heritage to be taught to Black American children. I then overview the historical/contemporary agendas for Black education, and how music education fits into these agendas, by comparing those of African Americans to those of the "The State," which operates as a colonial actor. I then analyze the use of culturally responsive instruction in a music program for African American fourth graders in Washington DC, drawing from Gaunt's theory of kinetic orality. Finally, an analysis of how traditional music is used to teach cultural identity in Botswana elucidates the key components of a culturally responsive music education model that could be effective for African American students.

THE BLACK POWER CLASSROOM: AN ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL
APPROACH TO TEACHING AFRICAN HERITAGE AWARENESS
THROUGH MUSIC EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA AND AFRICAN AMERICA

by

MAYA CUNNINGHAM

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Advisory Committee:
Professor J. Lawrence Witzleben, Chair
Professor Siv B. Lie
Professor Fernando Rios

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Foreword

I intend for this thesis to serve as a framework to continue of the work of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and the African American Civil Rights Movement. With this work I advocate for and share methods on how to decolonize music education for African American children through culturally responsive music education. The Civil Rights Movement was solely focused on putting a stop to racial segregation and unjust racial laws, policies, and practices that inhibited African Americans from enjoying the liberties and privileges that come with American citizenship. In addition to gaining African American voting rights and ending racial discrimination in public accommodations, a major impetus of the Movement was to correct injustices endured by African Americans in American education. It was the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* (of Topeka, Kansas) Supreme Court mandate to desegregate all American schools that launched the Civil Rights Movement. As the Movement continued, battles that engaged educational institutions were major hallmarks. The 1957 school desegregation battle in Little Rock Arkansas, referred to as the Little Rock Nine, was the next major battle after the 1956 Montgomery Bus Boycott. Six-year-old Ruby Bridges integrated New Orleans public schools in 1961. There was an all-out war fought (this is not an exaggeration) by racist vigilantes in 1962, when James Meredith integrated the infamously segregated University of Mississippi (known then as Old Miss). Also, subsequent federal and state court orders in the nineteen seventies and eighties were issued in the attempt to desegregate schools. Why? Because when neighborhoods, or sections of a county or city, are still racially segregated, then such divisions create de facto segregation in public schools. Such is the case in Washington

DC. Historically, the White populated schools are west of Rock Creek Park and in gentrified areas of Capitol Hill. The Black populated schools are everywhere else, except for the Mount Pleasant neighborhood, which is largely Latino (mainly El Salvadorian). I have observed that predominantly White schools, located in very wealthy areas of the city, receive better services, more immediate attention to needs and problems, improved facilities, and more public funding. Predominantly Black schools in the poorest areas of the city, located in neighborhoods “East of the River” in the South East section, receive very little attention from the District government and suffer from a lack of funding. Outside of such de facto segregation issues, this thesis seeks to continue the work of the Civil Rights Movement by addressing racial injustices in the curriculum taught to African American students. Does it make sense that in Washington DC a largely Eurocentric music education approach is used to teach a majority African American student population? No. Does it make sense that many other African American children are subject to such racially biased instruction in many other areas of the country? No.

This thesis will serve as an ethnomusicological treatise on how to decolonize the largely Eurocentric, and therefore racially biased, music education curricular content that is currently being taught to the millions of African American children who live in this country. This work will detail how to turn from such curricula towards instructional approaches and content that will serve as a mechanism of freedom and power. I intend for this thesis to disrupt the ongoing music education system that is a classroom colonial apparatus that disempowers young Black learners by only including European modes of learning and content to the exclusion of their African American cultural heritage. In order to do this, I will elucidate the need for culturally responsive education and critically examine case studies from my ethnomusicological field work conducted in music education classrooms in Washington DC and Botswana, that serve as models for the empowerment of Black children. In other words, this thesis uses the discipline of ethnomusicology to present and analyze the teaching of Black identity in the classroom: music instruction that teaches the African heritage of African

American students as a source of power. More simply said, this thesis is about teaching Black Power, or the *Black Power Classroom: An Ethnomusicological Approach to Teaching African Heritage Awareness through Music Education*.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory, legacy and person of the honorable, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: the enduring chief, king, Moses and Freedom Father of my people - African Americans.

*I'm gonna do what the Spirit says do
I'm gonna do what the Spirit says do
What the Spirit says do, I'm gonna do Oh Lord
I'm gonna do what the Spirit says do*

*I'll go to jail if the Spirit said jail
I'll go to jail is the Spirit said jail
If the spirit says jail, jail Oh Lord
I'll go to jail if the Spirit said jail*

19th Century African American Spiritual &
20th Century African American Civil Rights Movement Freedom Song

*When you see something that is not right, not fair, not just, we have a moral obligation and a
mandate to do something, to say something
to speak up, to speak out...*

John Lewis, 2018
From *King in the Wilderness*

*He (Martin Luther King) is issuing as much of a call to us today as he was in calling to us in
1968. And I hope that we will hear that call and finish the next phase of his movement.*

Marion Wright Edelman, 2018
From *King in the Wilderness*

*With Martin Luther King we have the holiday and we talk about how wonderful he was. But
we really should develop his work...it's our responsibility.*

Diane Nash, 2018

He always said we've come a long, long way. But we still got a long way to go...

Andrew White, 2018

The only way to redeem the soul of America is to eradicate racism in all of its dimensions.

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

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Table of Contents

Foreword	ii
Dedication	v
Acknowledgements	vi
List of Figures	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Snapshots of Music Education in Service of the United States Colonial Project	1
The Need for African American Culturally Responsive Education	5
Slavery, White Supremacy, and Racial Pseudo-Science	8
Minstrelsy and the Shaming of Black America	10
The Miseducation of African America	14
Making Headway	19
Black History Month Is Not Enough: The Need for Culturally Responsive Music Education	20
Literature Review	21
Ethnomusicology on Music Education	21
Key Writings on African American and African Music Traditions	25
Relevant Writings on African American Studies	26
Methodology in Developing a Culturally Responsive Music Education	36
Goals and Objectives	37
Chapter 2: How Does African American Music Education Fit into the Broader Agenda of African American Education?	38
History of Black American Education	38
Black Education during Reconstruction and Jim Crow: Determination, Resistance, and the State as Colonial Actor	42
White Coloniality of the Public Education of Black Children: Past into the Present	47
Coloniality of African American Music Education: A Case Study	51
Charter Schools as a Colonial Force, the Black Body, and "Edu-business",	51
Chapter 3: Strategies in Culturally Responsive African American Music Education: A Case Study	73
Thick Description	75
African American Orality in the Black Power Classroom	76
Using African American Music-Dance Culture in Musical Theater Instruction	79
Teaching African Heritage Using Organological Instruction	81
Teaching African History as African American Heritage: A Lesson on the Mali Empire and Sundiata Keita	84
Kinetic Orality in Culturally Responsive Music Education for African American Learners	86
Chapter 4: How Is African Heritage Taught through Music Education in Africa?	90
Teaching Setswana Cultural/National Identity through Traditional Music in Botswana: An Ideal Culturally Responsive Music Education Model	90
Botswanan National Identity	91
Contemporary Markers of National Identity	92

National Identity in Primary Schools.....	93
Culture Bearers Make Curriculum Decisions	94
An African-Centered Education	95
Cultural Studies Curriculum	97
Cultural Corners and the Classroom Environment	98
Teaching Music as Culture	99
Conclusion: The Black Power Classroom: A Culturally Responsive Music Education Model for African American Children	105
Bibliography	108

List of Figures

Figure	Page
Fig. 1.1 African American stereotypes perpetuated by Blackface minstrelsy.....	10
Fig. 1.2 Minstrel Characters in Disney’s <i>Dumbo</i> (1941).....	10
Fig. 1.3. Degrading Images of Africans and African Americans at 1893 World’s Fair.....	15
Chicago	
Fig. 1.4 Image of Ota Benga, so-called “pygmy” man on display at the Bronx Zoo, 1906....	16
Fig. 1.5 Igbo <i>oja</i> flutes.....	29
Fig. 2.1A “Africans in the American South by Area of Origin” (Gomez, 1998)	38
Fig. 2.1B Title and back cover of author’s <i>Samba, Soul and Civil Rights</i> music education....	54
curriculum, 2011	
Fig. 2.2 Racial demographic of US citizens who receive bachelor’s, master’s or doctor’s....	60
degrees in 2012-13	
Fig. 2.3 Highlighted in yellow, number of Whites compared to number of Blacks who receive bachelor’s, master’s and doctor’s degrees in 2012-13.....	61
Fig. 2.4 Cover page of the New York State standards for Music.....	62
Fig. 2.5 Photos from the arts page of the District of Columbia Public School’s website.....	63
Fig. 2.6A Self Portraits by White children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer.....	65
on <i>Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed</i> (1968)	
Fig. 2.6B Armless self-portraits by Black children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer.....	66
on <i>Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed</i> (1968)	
Fig. 2.6C Faceless self-portraits by Black children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer.....	66
on <i>Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed</i> (1968)	
Fig. 2.6D Drawings of trees by White children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer.....	66
on <i>Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed</i> (1968)	
Fig. 2.6E Drawings of trees by Black children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer.....	67
on <i>Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed</i> (1968)	
Fig. 2.6F Black nine-year old’s drawing of a White man and himself.....	67
analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer on <i>Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed</i> (1968)	
Fig. 2.7 CNN Commissioned Pilot Study to Assess Racial Bias in Children (2010).....	68

Fig. 3.1 Racial Demographic Maps of Washington DC.....	71
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Snapshots of Music Education in Service of the United States Colonial Project

Mid - 1980s

It was the middle of my first-grade year. I attended a private school called the Ascension Lutheran School in Landover Hills, Maryland. I was one of five African American students in my class. All other students were White. The school was operated by White educators and administrators, and the congregation of the Ascension Lutheran church was majority White as well. My teacher was named Mrs. Grotti. On a colorful calendar just over her desk she displayed the dates of the month, with all of the holidays marked with cheery stars, circles and other shapes. It was February and President's Day was coming up. She showed us George Washington's birthday on the calendar and read us a story about young George. She said he was so honest as a boy that he told his father the truth about chopping down a cherry tree. The song she taught us drove home the point of the story. The song lyrics were words that George supposedly spoke: "I chopped down the cherry tree-ee, I chopped down the cherry tree-ee, I chopped down the cherry tree-ee, I could not tell a lie." The melody was the same as "Glory, Glory Hallelujah . . . His truth is marching on."

Every morning we stood to say the pledge of allegiance. My teachers instructed us to hold our right hands over our hearts while reciting "I pledge my allegiance to the flag of the United States of America. And to the republic for which it stands, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." I remember singing all of the anthems at Ascension Lutheran. The school had a big focus on music and had a large production at the end of each year. Each grade performed a special song. My kindergarten class made animal masks and sang "Arise and shine and give God the glory" which was about the Noah's ark story. One year, the school chose a patriotism theme. Each class had to perform an American anthem. One class, not mine, sang the anthem of the Confederacy—"Dixie." I did not understand the implications of this at the time. I just remember my African American grandmother, who was raised in Florida during the Jim Crow period, asking me about the concert and then saying to me accusingly "I heard ya'll sang Dixie!" (As if it were my fault or I had some sort of control over the song choice for that class.)

January to June 2011

I was teaching music part time at a public charter school in the Bronx. They often touted that their school was located in the poorest congressional district in the United States, which increased their likelihood to receive private funding. The students were African-American, West African, Afro-Latino from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, and Indigenous Latino from the same countries. I shared the teaching responsibilities with a White male music teacher from North Carolina. He constantly made assumptions about my socio-economic status based on my African American background. He assumed that I grew up in a blue-collar/working-class household, like he did, and was shocked to hear about my Brown University educated, professional parents. (Especially that my mother is a physician.) There was very little diversity in the teaching staff—with the exception of three, all of the teachers were either Euro-American or Euro-Hispanic. I taught at the school three days per week, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. I decide to teach my classes about Marian Anderson, the African American spirituals of Alvin Ailey's ballet Revelations, the legend of John Henry, a

poem turned into a song called “When Malindy Sings” by Paul Lawrence Dunbar and songs connected to the Juneteenth holiday. Before I got there, there was no Black history in the lives of the students. Jerry taught, and continued to teach, songs from Disney movies. Disney – the Little Mermaid, Beauty and the Beast etc. Those and a Jay Z song called “New York.” He devised a unit on hip hop that he believed was culturally relevant to the students.

August to May 2012

The following year I began teaching full time at another charter school in the South Bronx. The administration, and all except three teaching staff, were all White. Most of the teachers were young Whites from various suburbs who had moved to New York City and lived on the posh Upper East Side of Manhattan. They all conveniently took the six train to the slums of the South Bronx to make their 60,000 dollars per year that financed their NYC adventure. I am sure that some had good intentions. However, many were there because it was inner city charter schools like that one that had the jobs. Because the school wanted rigor for the students, I wrote interdisciplinary music/arts curricula for my students, who were all of African descent from different countries. I got the idea to teach them the music of the African American Civil Rights Movement and parallel movements in Brazil, Columbia, Venezuela and other areas. To help my students understand the shared histories between these Afro Diasporic groups, I included in the introductory lesson an excerpt of the movie Roots – the scene where Kunta Kinte is captured into slavery. This caught the attention of the Director of Curriculum and Instruction, a White woman from North Carolina, who asked to see the movie clip. In a meeting soon after, she forbade me to show it at the behest of the school’s administration. After this, they observed my teaching all day, every day. I was terminated the next month.

September 2015

My family relocated to the Washington DC area in 2014. It was at the start of my second-year teaching music at JC Nalle Elementary—a District of Columbia Public School with a ninety-nine percent African American student population, staff, teaching faculty and administration. I was sitting in a mandatory professional development at the Kennedy Center that was specifically for music educators. Seventy-five percent of the music educators were of African descent as were seventy percent of the DCPS students they serve. However, the DCPS Fine Arts department hired four White music teachers to write four music units that we were required to teach. Two White male music teachers were introducing their unit to our group. What is the lesson? Forty-five minutes of listening to Aaron Copland’s Rodeo ballet score. When the group asked why two European Classical pieces were chosen, the men answered, “a decision had to be made and we made it.” I pointed out that the unit was not inclusive, nor was it culturally relevant, to the majority African American students that we teach. I said that minimally, a multicultural approach should have been taken. Some of the group chimed in, “yeah!” These comments fall on deaf ears. I took my concerns to my principal who excused me from having to teach the lessons.

January 2016

I attended another DCPS professional development. This one was held at a school. A high school or junior high. The music teacher’s room had nothing but the faces of the European composers of “the canon” plastered all over the wall. I saw illustrations of Bach, Beethoven, Schuman and Strauss on the wall. Nothing but these images decorated the walls of a music classroom that was intended to serve African American teenagers. Nothing that reflected their cultural experience.

September 2018

I started a new year with DCPS—my fifth year. Every single manager in the Fine Arts team was White. Most of the music teachers, art teachers and the majority of the students are African American. The music specialist who was hired by DCPS the previous year, along with a team of mostly White music teachers, devised a new curriculum called DC Keys. They wrote a series of hokey songs that were supposed to be used to teach kindergarten to fifth grade students some keyboard skills. For some reason they have chosen to focus on teaching the Western view of the tri-tone interval. None of the songs employed the general principles of Sub-Saharan African music outlined by Turino, and therefore none of the songs were culturally relevant to the majority African American population of students that these lessons were intended to serve. Neither was the instructional approach.

These snapshots from my experiences in music education, as a student and as a teacher, outline the problem that I intend to address with this thesis. During my eighteen years of experience teaching music, I have observed how music education functions as an American colonial tool for African American students. Ndaliko cites Fanon when she defines mental colonialism as “the psychological condition that resulted from colonial regimes, which strategically undervalued African practices and overvalued their European counterparts” (2016: 25). From what I have observed through my many different teaching experiences with thousands of children in schools, school systems, and state-operated departments of education, each knob of the American educational systems constitutes the “colonial regime” that Ndaliko refers to. This is a regime that mostly promotes a Eurocentric take on music education, save for the acceptance of a few anomalies. I have worked with three different public-school systems, and in various charter schools in New York City, Long Island, and Washington DC. All except one were in economically depressed areas. I also directed the Roberta Flack School of Music in the South Bronx and was Director of Little Lights Arts, an arts-based youth empowerment organization. I have directed children’s choirs in Christian faith-based settings. My students have been from all races and backgrounds: Middle-class Korean children, working-class Afro-Latino children, West African children, European Jewish children, African American children of all socio-economic backgrounds, and many others. Most of my experience has been at the elementary school level, but I have also taught middle school and

high school students. I do admit that I cannot speak for what takes place in every classroom in the United States. I can say, however, that throughout my professional experience, I have noticed some key themes that reveal the need for culturally responsive education for African American children. Most of the educational institutions that I have worked with support music education that promotes Western/European ideas about music. Such music education includes:

1. Teaching students “music appreciation” of the European classical canon as a norm
2. The belief that “teaching music” is teaching students how to read the Western notation system
3. Teachings students how to play Western instruments exclusively
4. Teaching choral techniques using the Western SATB harmonic structure and operatic vocal techniques
5. Using non-culturally relevant songs to teach vocal music

This approach to music education does not well serve any of the children that I have worked with. First, it promotes the idea of the superiority of European cultures. For White students it lays the groundwork for culturally biased viewpoints in the future. For the African American children, and children from other minority groups, the information about their own culture that is excluded, also called the “null curriculum,” diminishes their view of their historical experience and culture. African American children’s book writer Walter Dean Myers shared his insight on this as it relates to his mid-twentieth century New York City public education in *Bad Boy: A Memoir*.

In truth, everything in my life in 1951 that was personal and had value was White. All the authors I studied, all the historical figures...and all those figures I looked upon as having importance were White men. I didn't mind that they were men, or even White men. What I did mind was that being White seemed to play so important a part in the assigning of values...I wondered where and how I would fit into a society that basically didn't like me (2002: 112-113).

I contend that African American children, especially those served by public schools, need culturally responsive music education. Public schools funded by public tax dollars should serve the students who attend them. Culturally responsive music education is a civil right.

The Need for African American Culturally Responsive Education

Before I continue, I must take the time to define culturally responsive education and explain the historic and contemporary positionality of African American children that warrants the need for this approach. Aronson and Laughter (2016) report the following on the origins of this instructional approach.

School desegregation efforts of the 1960s and 1970s elicited a new movement in education to more effectively teach diverse students. Concepts like *culturally appropriate* (Au & Jordan, 1981), *culturally congruent* (Mohatt & Erickson, 1981), *culturally responsive* (Cazden & Leggett, 1981; Lee, 1998), and *culturally compatible* (Jordan, 1985) began to emerge in the academic literature (Brown-Jeffy & Cooper, 2011; Sleeter, 2012). From this foundation, two primary strands, distinct from multicultural education, emerged in educational research. One focused on teacher practice, as embodied in the work of Geneva Gay (1975, 1980, 2002, 2010, 2013) and *culturally responsive teaching*. The second focused on teacher posture and paradigm, as expressed in the work of Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994, 1995a, 1995b, 2006, 2014) and *culturally relevant pedagogy*. While delineating a difference between teaching and pedagogy, both strands strongly embraced social justice and the classroom as a site for social change (163).

Gloria Ladson-Billings coined the term “cultural relevancy” in 1994. She defines culturally responsive teaching as “pedagogy that recognizes the importance of including students’ cultural references in all aspects of learning” (Ladson-Billings, 1994: 20). “Culturally responsive pedagogy is a student-centered approach to teaching in which the students’ unique cultural strengths are identified and nurtured to promote student achievement and a sense of well-being about the student’s cultural place in the world” (Lynch 2012).

Before I continue, it is important to define how the word culture is used in the term “culturally responsive education,” since this concept is central this thesis. Ladson-Billings relies on a tacit or common understanding of the word culture. Her concept of culture includes the common beliefs and practices that define the character of an ethnic or racial group. This is why she asserts that “culturally relevant pedagogues focus on *cultural competence*, which ‘refers to helping students to recognize and honor their own cultural beliefs and practices while acquiring access to the wider culture’ (Aronson and Laughter, 2016: 166). For African Americans these beliefs and practices might include a national

identity that is centered upon important Black American historical figures, common attitudes regarding child-rearing, widely used approaches to music making or historical accomplishments made by one individual, or Black Americans in a specific region, but that are seen as being held by all. It also includes language. Mojaki (2017) also holds a similar view of the concept of culture, which reflects similar attitudes widely held by most Botswanans. In Mojaki's view, culture and heritage are seen as the same thing. Botswana culture, which the people I interviewed during my field study often referred to as "our culture," is viewed as long-standing beliefs, traditions, ways of life, values, and the material/expressive culture associated with each of these. Both Ladson-Billings and Mojaki consider culture as something that defines or characterizes an ethnic group. In American ethnomusicology however, a different view of the culture concept presides. (I specify the American version of the field because Mojaki is an ethnomusicologist also but sees the culture concept through a Botswanan lens.) Furthermore, the culture concept has long since been debated, dissected, redefined and even rejected in the larger field of American anthropology. Turino (2008) states that "any general theories about artistic processes and expressive cultural practices would do well to begin with a conception of the self and individual identity" (95). In ethnomusicology, in line with Turino's view, people are not seen as belonging to or having a culture, but rather, "culture is defined...as the habits of thought and practice that are shared among individuals" (95). According to Turino, these shared habits bind people into social groups, called "cultural cohorts," which operate "according to specific aspects of the self (gender, class, age, occupation, interests)" (95). In Turino's definition, one belongs to numerous cultural cohorts, rather than one cultural group based on ethnicity. He also states that "broader more pervasive patterns of shared habits...give rise to cultural formations."

I do not think that the Ladson-Billings, Mojaki or Turino definitions of culture conflict. Rather they present different ways of thinking about and analyzing the common bonds among large groups of people. I will say, however, that contrary to Turino's view, Ladson-Billings sees African American cultural identity as something that is consistent in all members of the group, no matter which gender, class or other social cohorts they belong to. Both she and Mojaki also see their Black cultures as synonymous with heritage. I agree with this definition for several reasons, the primary one being that the positionality of the individual belonging to Turino's various "cultural cohorts" must be considered. Based on my experience as an African American in the United States, and I would even say globally, Black Americans, who are a highly visible minority, never have the luxury of living life outside of the racial construction of "blackness." No matter which cohorts a Black person belongs to, be it the American female gender cohort, or the cohort of graduate students, people of African descent will always have a unique experience from others in the cohort because of their historical position in the country. They are never seen as "normal" or "mainstream" outside of Black spaces. Also, African American cultural identity is one that is rooted in history. The history, and therefore heritage of the group runs congruently with the groups contemporary ethnic identity. Thus, while this is an ethnomusicology thesis, it is the Ladson-Billings/Mojaki definition of culture that I refer to when using the term culturally responsive music education.

Therefore, using Ladson-Billings and Mojaki's definition of culture, for an African American child, this pedagogical approach places Black culture at the center of his or her learning, rather than Western or Eurocentric culture, as Walter Dean Myers experienced during his education. While this trend in educational theory is slowly receiving more attention, it has yet to shape, or rather re-shape, music educational models at the institutional level. As I have seen in my own classroom, there is no doubt that culturally responsive music

education empowers African American students, but how and why? In order to understand a music classroom that gives “Black Power,” we must understand the historical classroom that has led to Black disempowerment. Essential questions to ask are why African American cultural education is a source of power, why music education is a fitting mode through which to deliver such education, and why African American culture has historically not been included in mainstream American education models. The root answer to these questions lies in the historic mainstream American view that African American and African cultures are inferior and primitive. I will briefly discuss the four congruent streams that have contributed to this narrative:

- White supremacy and racial pseudo-science
- Racial assimilation and ideas of racial “uplift,”
- Minstrel images of African America that have led to a misinformed or absent education about Africa and African American history
- Images of an exoticized Africa.

I will then discuss how the Black America’s embracing of their African roots during the Black Power and Black is Beautiful Movements functioned as a source of African American empowerment that can continue through culturally responsive music education.

Slavery, White Supremacy, and Racial Pseudo-Science

In its history exhibition, the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture contends that the early relationship between Africans and Europeans, on the coastal areas of the African continent, was a trade relationship marked by equality. However, as the European slave trade developed, and the economy of Europe and New World colonies began to depend on and grow from African slave labor, an unequal power relationship formed between Europeans and Africans. A master-servant relationship fell into place that was undergirded with ideas of European superiority and African inferiority. In the

United States, policies and laws known as slave codes were enacted to criminalize the culture of enslaved Africans. The Stono Rebellion of 1739 led to many states passing laws that made drumming amongst Africans illegal (Wood, 2006: 2149). All elements of African culture, from African languages and other customs, were perceived by Whites to be “uncivilized,” “heathen,” and “barbaric” (Yudell, 2006: 1864). Much of the beliefs and rhetoric held by slave holders about Black folks were based in the idea that they were not human, or objects, who did not have souls, let alone “culture.” White slave holders used dehumanizing terms to refer to Africans such as “buck,” the N-word, “savage,” and “wench” (ibid.: 1865). In fact, the United States Constitution stated that enslaved African Americans were only “three-fifths of a human being.” Black people were thought to have lived in an animalistic state in the imagined (and fictitious) jungles of Africa, speaking gibberish, hanging from trees and in need of European masters to “civilize” them (Boskin, 2006: 1932). Linguist Lorenzo Dow Turner reveals that regarding Gullah, the African language spoken by African Americans living in the coastal islands of South Carolina and Georgia, early linguists condescendingly took the position that the language is “partly a survival of baby-talk which the White people, during the early period of slavery, found it necessary to use in communicating with the slaves” (Turner 1949: 5). Such attitudes mirrored White views of Native Americans. I reference the assimilationist project of the United States government that was enacted upon Native Americans through the boarding school program. Baker (2010) reports on the colonial attitudes towards Native Americans. Major Richard C. Pratt, the superintendent of the US Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, agreed with the idea that “the only good Indian was a dead one” and that “All the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him and save the man” (ibid.: 3). Regarding Black folks, the attitude was “kill the African, subjugate the man.” Saving was not even a part of the equation. The idea was to strip Black folks of their personhood, of their identity, or to at least make them ashamed of it.

Baker (2010) summarizes the view of African American culture in early American anthropology that is intrinsically linked with the view of American Indian culture, a parallel group of American “internal others.” And while anthropological debates raged about the “worthiness” of “negro culture,” minstrel images of core African elements of Black culture took care of the shaming part.

Minstrelsy and the Shaming of Black America

When African Americans arrived in the United States, they brought their rich cultures from all over West, Central, Southern and even East Africa. They were not ape-people swinging from trees, as depicted in *Tarzan*, but were members of advanced civilizations like the Ghana, Mali, and Songhai empires. The Ashanti and Oyo empires. The kingdom of Foutou Jallou. They brought rich cultures and traditions with them that continued even through the brutal confines of slavery. These were rich culinary traditions, including foods from Africa like watermelon, okra, lima beans, black-eyed peas, rice, and dishes like “gumbo” and “hoppin’ john” (which is traditionally served on New Year’s Day). Africans also brought cultural traditions that included hair styles like cornrows and braids, quilting, and a family ethos that still continues today in the Black church and other community contexts. They also brought their music traditions.

A prevalent instrument among African Americans and other groups in the African Diaspora was the banjo. Many of the early African Americans were from the area of the medieval Mali Empire, also known as the Manding Empire. In contemporary terms, the Manding empire spread through the areas of Mali, The Gambia, Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast and several other countries. The earliest African American banjos were made of gourds and were exactly the same as the *akonting*, a Mande folk lute of the Jola who lived in coastal Senegal and The Gambia (Linford 2014).

Despite their rich culture, African American traditions were often misunderstood and ridiculed in United States visual media. The African American image was distorted in American visual culture with ugly stereotypes. One of the most shameful times of American history was the rise of minstrelsy in the 1800s. It is thought that minstrel shows were created by Irish immigrants who arrived in the 1800s (Lott 1993:92). Minstrel performers were normally White men, but sometimes also White women, who painted their faces Black and configured their makeup and facial expressions to exaggerate and portray as ugly African American physicality. They sang so-called "coon songs" and portrayed ugly stereotypes of African Americans like the so-called picanniny, mammy, jezebel and sambo (Boskin, 2006: 1932). Through minstrelsy many African elements of Black culture were portrayed as uncivilized, barbaric, and inferior to European derived cultures. The goal of minstrel shows was to prove White supremacy and Black inferiority in order to justify slavery and continued economic exploitation.



Fig. 1.1 African American stereotypes perpetuated by blackface minstrelsy

The Black cultural elements that White minstrels made fun of were those that they perceived to be the most different from Whites. This meant mimicry of Black physicality, like dark skin, full lips, and tight coiled hair. It also meant that they degraded and demeaned African cultural characteristics like African American vernacular speech, which was and still is patterned after Niger-Congo grammar and infused with many West and Central African words (Turner, 1949: 31). An example of such mimicry is in the 1941 Disney movie *Dumbo*. In this scene a group of crows, the leader whose name is “Jim Crow,” are minstrel characters who ridicule the baby elephant. They were White male actors who mimicked what they believed was Black speech with the song “When I Seen An Elephant Fly.” Other examples are numerous.



Fig. 1.2 Minstrel Characters in Disney's *Dumbo* (1941). The one circled in white was named “Jim Crow.”

Minstrel stereotypes were (and still are) pervasive in American society and unleashed a violent psychological assault on African Americans, causing many to try to distance themselves from these images, even if it meant sacrificing, discarding, or perhaps even hiding these elements of their culture. For example, during an interview that I conducted with my great-grandmother Eula T. Orr years ago, I asked her if she wore cornrowed or other natural hairstyles when she was a little girl. Her answer was no, because she said those hairstyles were viewed as “picanniny.” In a similar case, Howard University, a historically Black university, held an institutional policy not to serve watermelon at any social occasion (Carmichael, Thelwell 2003). There are members of my family, like my maternal grandmother, who avoid eating watermelon in front of Whites so they will not be associated with minstrel stereotypes. To further illustrate cultural distancing/masking caused by minstrelsy we can look at a 1976 episode of *The Jeffersons* television show, “The Break Up 1.” George, the outspoken, successful Black business man who is the main character, hides a watermelon that he wants to enjoy in a bowling ball bag as he enters into his elite apartment building in New York City’s posh Upper East Side. When asked by his wife Weezy (short for Louise) why he is carrying the large fruit in a bowling bag he answers, “because I don’t want the White folks to see me carrying it - they’ll think I love watermelon.” Weezy responds, “but you do.” Then George says, “I know, but I don’t want him to know it because in White folks’ heads watermelon goes along with fried chicken and lazy and tap dancing and scared of ghosts.” George’s cultural masking illustrates the politics of respectability that is a constant theme in Black American culture. George names several other stereotypical ideas depicted by minstrel characters that he does not want his White neighbors to associate with him by carrying the watermelon out in the open. The point is this—minstrelsy was a method of colonialism that psychologically and emotionally demoralized Black people while promoting to White audiences the idea of their own racial and cultural superiority. New stereotypes persist, include the “thug/gangster/drug

dealer,” or variations of the “angry Black woman,” like the “uncouth welfare queen.” Such cultural degradation and reactionary cultural masking, or even cultural denial, complicates the issue of teaching Black culture to African American children in the classroom. These minstrel images, and the absence of real education about Africa, or even African American culture for that matter, have alienated many African Americans from their own heritage.

The Miseducation of African America

After slavery, in tandem with minstrelsy, Black children, especially those living in the South, had limited access to good education. Many were forced into child labor, like Fanny Lou Hamer, who at six years old was tricked into trading school attendance for adult labor, cotton picking, by the White owner of the Delta, Mississippi plantation that she lived on with her family (Lee, 2000:20). Winfred Rembert, a New Haven, Connecticut based African American artist, experienced the same treatment on Cuthbert, Georgia (*All Me: The Life and Times of Winfred Rembert*, 2011). The plantation owner decided that he should stop school at six years old in order to pick cotton. Gaskin illuminates systemic educational inequities that Black people suffered from with the following. “On the other end of the ideological and programmatic spectrum was the advocacy of an education for Black students to ensure the maintenance of White supremacy...such was especially true during the post-Reconstruction era.” Education towards the maintenance of White supremacy was so virulently ubiquitous in the African American experience, that to explain further would require only a few anecdotal examples. One, from W.E.B. Du Bois via Gaskin is the following.

An observation made by W. E. B. Du Bois, reported in a 1918 issue of *The Crisis*, is typical of the second-class education provided to Black children and youth during this period. Here, Du Bois decried the material disparities he found in the education of Black and White students in Butte, Montana, public schools:

What, now, is the real difference between these two schemes [White and Black] of education? The difference is that in the Butte schools for White pupils, a chance is held open for the pupil to go through high school and college and to advance at the rate which the modern curriculum demands; that in the colored, a program is being made out that will land the boy at the time he becomes self-conscious and aware of his own possibilities in an educational impasse. He cannot go on in the public schools even if he should move to a place where there are good public schools because he is too old. Even if he has done the elementary work in twice the time that a student is supposed to, it has been work of a kind that will not admit him to a northern high school. No matter, then, how gifted the boy may be, he is absolutely estopped from a higher education. This is not only unfair to the boy but it is grossly unfair to the Negro race. (Du Bois, 1995: 263)

Building on Du Bois' example, Mildred Taylor draws from her family experience to further explain inequities in the instructional content delivered, or that was expected to be delivered, to Black students. In Taylor' classic work *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976) about the Logan family, which is largely based on the experiences of her own African American family in the South during the Jim Crow period, Taylor paints a detailed picture of the education of African American children in Mississippi. Even beyond the racial segregation of schools, she reveals how county school boards were controlled by powerful White land barons, who saw to it that racial segregation and Black racial subjugation were depicted to Black children as the "natural order of things." This meant that all teaching about slavery or the African origins of African Americans was omitted from the curriculum, and describing the civil war as "the war of Northern Aggression." Taylor tells a poignant tale of how Mary Logan, the mother of the main characters, was terminated from Great Faith, the school for Black children, for teaching the truth about slavery and the history of Africa as a part of the African American legacy.

Through either the explicit curriculum that focused on the cultural accomplishments of Western Europeans or the "null curriculum" that excluded those of African Americans or Africans, Black children throughout the twentieth century were taught to view themselves as inferior. Carter G. Woodson documents in the *Mis-Education of the Negro*:

The "educated Negroes" have the attitude of contempt toward their own people because in their own as well as in their mixed schools Negroes are taught to admire

the...Greek, the Latin...and to despise the African. Of the hundreds of Negro high schools recently examined by an expert in the United States Bureau of Education only eighteen offer a course taking up the history of the Negro...At a Negro summer school two years ago, a White instructor gave a course on the Negro, using for his text a work which teaches that Whites are superior to the Blacks. (1933: 21-22)

There is no question that African Americans are an African people. Therefore, if Blacks were taught to “despise the African,” as Woodson reports, then they were taught to despise themselves. And with no other information about Africa except for exoticized depictions of the continent (except for maybe stories passed down through the family line), who could fault them? Images like *Tarzan*, the book and the movie, were a major force in shaming, and even misinforming, African Americans about their African origins. Carnival displays and exhibitions of Africans at World Fairs and zoos only contributed to African American alienation from their African roots. In her 1987 novel *Beloved*, Toni Morrison points to the “African Savage” stereotype that was promoted by traveling carnivals during the period just after slavery. The main characters, Sethe, Denver, and Paul D, go to a carnival that comes to 1870s Cincinnati, near the town where they live. An “African Savage” is on display in a cage, played by a Black man that Paul D knows. In the 1893 World’s Fair in Chicago, African Americans were completely excluded from the fair, except for a former enslaved Black woman from Kentucky who was hired to play the part of “Aunt Jemima”—the mammy stereotype. Also, a group of men from the Mandingo nation were put on display on the midway. “Tribes from Africa were shipped and displayed to give Americans a picture of what these “savages” lived like. Americans came away from these exhibits with the view that African tribes were primitive, barbaric, and uneducated. Journalists and photographers latched onto these exhibits, further propagating this view of Africans” (World’s Columbian Exposition: Chicago 1893). In response to protests about African American exclusion from the fair, the administrators arranged for a “Colored Day” or “Darkies Day” that was advertised with a degrading illustration.



Fig. 1.3. Degrading Images of Africans and African Americans at 1893 World's Fair in Chicago
 Upper photos – Actress and Illustration of “Aunt Jemima” minstrel stereotype. Lower left, Group of Mandingo men who were displayed at the fair. Lower right, Advertisement for “Darkies Day.”

In Western European nations, Africans were often put on display as animals are in zoos. In the same way that Sartijie Bartman, the South African Khoisan woman was put on display, with no clothes on and forced to gyrate before a paying public in England and France, Belgium forced Congolese people to be a part of exhibitions at “human zoos.” The United States did the same to a young man named Ota Benga, who was captured and displayed in the Monkey House of the Bronx Zoo in New York City (Newkirk 2015). Benga was first brought to the United States by Samuel Verner, an avowed White supremacist from South Carolina and former African missionary. Two years earlier, he had been commissioned by organizers of the St. Louis World's Fair as a special agent to bring back so-called “pygmies.” A group of Black American pastors from Harlem, seeing Benga’s physical similarity to African Americans, petitioned to have him set free. These kinds of displays were used to reinforce views of African Americans as inferior to Whites. They illustrate the White supremacy that has been taught to Black children in schools for generations.

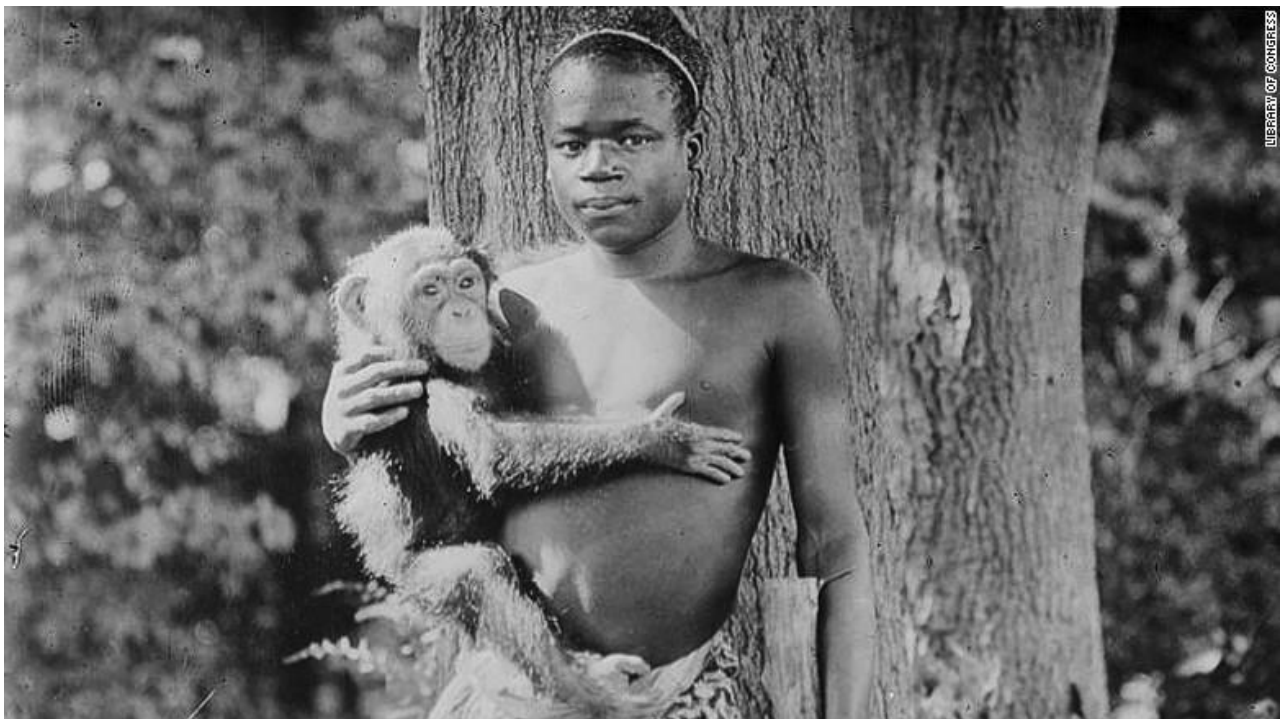


Fig. 1.4 Image of Ota Benga, so-called “pygmy” man on display at the Bronx Zoo, 1906.

Making Headway

The psychological assault on African Americans stayed in overdrive until many of these streams were quelled by the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements in the mid-twentieth century. As the Civil Rights Movement progressed, the decolonization of Black America progressed. The Movement was a turning point for African America, not only in terms of desegregating public accommodations and gaining the right to vote, but in terms of creating a new African American identity (Weisbrot and Singh, 2006: 471-78). The Black Power and Black Is Beautiful Movements were identity movements. "The Black Power movement was a collective, action-oriented expression of racial pride, strength, and self-definition that percolated through all strata of Afro-America during the late 1960s and the first half of the 1970s" (Deburg, 2006: 268). Black Americans pushed back against racist images of Africa and embraced their African pride. Furthermore, "the Black Arts Movement was fundamentally concerned with the construction of a "Black" identity as opposed to a "Negro" identity, which the participants sought to escape. Those involved placed a great emphasis on rhetorical and stylistic gestures that in some sense announced their "Blackness." Afro haircuts...African pendants and other jewelry...were among the familiar personal gestures by which this Blackness was expressed (Smith, 2006: 247). To build on Smith's thoughts with specific examples, many began wearing clothes from Africa, like Tanzanian dashikis, renamed themselves with African and African-inspired names, and celebrated new holidays like Kwanzaa. In the Black Arts Movement Black artists proudly expressed their African identity, as exemplified in the poetry of Nikki Giovanni, Sonia Sanchez, Amiri Baraka, and The Last Poets, in the paintings of AfriCobra, and many other expressive forms. Black Americans also included direct resistance to minstrel images in their activism. According to Ayana Byrd and Lori Tharps in *Hair Story: Untangling the Roots of Black Hair in America*, in 1968, "at the height of the Black Power movement, African Americans threaten to boycott

Quaker Oats if something isn't done about Aunt Jemima. The first thing to go is the headscarf, replaced by a headband. In order to get more distance from the fat Black Mammy stereotype, Quaker Oats eventually also drastically reduces Aunt Jemima's weight and makes her appear much younger" (2014: 147).

These identity movements also led to the demand for more education about African and African American culture. College students, like my own parents when they attended Brown University, took over administration buildings so that their universities would establish African and African American Studies departments. These actions have resulted in scholarship that has contributed significant information about the Africanness of African American culture. Furthermore, the multiculturalism established and promoted by the Black Power Movement led to schools incorporating Black History month lessons and celebrations.

Black History Month Is Not Enough: The Need for Culturally Responsive Music Education

It is Black History month that brings us to the need for more culturally relevant music education for children. It is great, but certainly not impressive, that after almost one hundred years of public education, one or two lessons per year on Black culture might be included (and I emphasize *might* because I have taught in schools that make no mention of Black History Month at all.) However, even when they do happen, measured against the deluge of Eurocentric lessons, Black history month lessons are a drop in an ocean—they are simply not enough.

Chicago Educator Gregory Michie, in The Huffington Post article "On the Importance of Mirrors for Students (and Teachers)," points to a solution to this imbalance through culturally responsive education. He says that in schools "the curriculum should be both a 'window' and a 'mirror' for students." He references educators Peggy McIntosh and Emily Style, who direct the National SEED Project (Seeking Educational Equity and Diversity): "the curriculum is a structure that ideally provides windows out into the

experiences of others, as well as mirrors of the student's own reality. In other words, schools should be spaces where kids explore the unfamiliar, but also see their own lived experiences validated and valued. For students whose racial, cultural, linguistic, or economic backgrounds differ significantly from that of the mainstream, the 'mirrors' part of the metaphor can be particularly powerful." This thesis takes the position that these "mirrors" are not only powerful, they are essential.

In a time in American education where other subject areas are sealed by the demands of the common core curriculum and standardized tests, music and the other arts are subjects for which most teachers can choose or create the curricula that they teach. Music education provides an open door through which Black students can receive consistent, sequential, engaging, and powerful teaching about their culture. This thesis is a model that uses music to teach Black students about their Africanity.

There is key ethnomusicological work that has been done in music education and on African American music traditions that provides the building blocks towards creating an ethnomusicological framework for culturally responsive music education. Furthermore, the case studies that I will later discuss exemplify the powerful mirrors that culturally responsive music education can give to children of African descent to assist in the process of decolonization, and that empowers them with cultural knowledge of self.

Literature Review

Ethnomusicology on Music Education

Ethnomusicologists have been in dialogue with music education for some years now. Several have presented a theoretical push for American music education to become more multicultural. It is important to make the distinction between multicultural music education and culturally responsive music education. The decision to use one approach over the other depends

upon the positionality of the students. The former seeks to include music traditions from many cultures all over the globe. This approach has the potential to de-center Western music and culture and makes equal diverse cultures if the instructional methodology is reflective of the music-cultures that are included. However, can we truly consider a curriculum to be multicultural if the instructional methodology used only draws from the Western tradition? In my opinion, this approach is very effective for students whose positionality is in the “Western Mainstream,” or students who belong to European groups. Why? Multiculturalism adds balance to the everyday experiences of these students who are constantly confronted with celebrations and memorials to European cultural achievements, Western music programming, and inflated cultural images. In my view, in American education, the culturally responsive approach is especially appropriate to use for students who are historically marginalized—like African American, Asian, or Afro/Indigenous Latino students. This approach first centers the students’ cultural traditions in their music education and teaches them music traditions from their culture. Culturally responsive music education privileges the instructional/learning modalities most prevalent in the students’ culture. Students then progress to learning about music from different cultures, using theirs as a basis for comparison.

The ethnomusicologists who have contributed to dialogue about music education have solely focused on the multicultural approach, which is why this ethnomusicology thesis on the culturally responsive approach is an original contribution. Even though the multiculturalist writers have not yet addressed the culturally responsive approach, their work has made an important contribution by initiating conversation on transformation, change, and inclusivity in children’s music education. The following works serve as an important foundation for developing a culturally responsive music education model.

Huib Schippers

Huib Schippers, an ethnomusicologist and Director of Smithsonian Folkways Records, wrote an interesting publication called *Facing the Music: Shaping Music Education From a Global Perspective* (2010). The book presents a deep analysis of multicultural music education. The most useful concepts for this thesis are the innocuous terms that he developed that serve as a kind of diversity meter for music education. He uses the term *monocultural* to describe programs where “the dominant culture is the only frame of reference” and “other musics and approaches to music are marginalized” (ibid.: 30). Interestingly, he uses the term *multicultural* to define “music education targeted at ‘roots’ of learners.” According to Schipper’s definition of *multicultural*, “Blacks are taught African music, Moroccans learn Arab music, etc.” His use of the term loosely references the culturally responsive music education model and he does not seem to be a fan of this approach. However, the model proposed in this thesis does not advocate for a cookie cutter approach that does not take into consideration the positionality of the students, and also does not advocate for students only learning about their own cultural musics throughout their schooling.

Schippers defines *intercultural* as representing “loose contacts and exchange between cultures and includes simple forms of fusion.” He also defines *transcultural* music education as the height of shaping music education from a global perspective. His definition of transcultural is how I define multicultural. Schippers says that *transcultural* music education “suggests programs in which many different musics and musical approaches are featured on equal footing, not on the margins but throughout general introductory courses, history, theory, methodology and discussions on the role of music for the community, beauty or ceremony.”

Patricia Shehan Campbell

Patricia Shehan Campbell is an ethnomusicologist who has contributed numerous publications towards the goal of driving forward multicultural music education in the United

States. While this literature review is an inquiry into culturally responsive music education, the information that Shehan has generated has the potential to be used as a starting place for various groups of children in the United States. A centerpiece for this effort is her tripartite edited volumes, *Multicultural Perspectives in Music Education*. Anthony Seeger wrote the forward for all three volumes that she has published. The volumes attempt to cover music from cultures all over the globe. In the preface, she shares that the impetus behind creating the volumes is to help steer the historical Western European musical focus of music education to become more inclusive. The volumes were published by the National Association for Music Education.

This project will also be in conversation with scholarship that addresses culturally responsive music education, culturally responsive education for African American students, and indigenous education. I hope for my work to also contribute to the work of ethnomusicologists Pinkie Gomolemo Mojaki and Mothusi Phuthego, who have both researched and written extensively on using indigenous Botswanan music for the music education of Botswanan students. Mojaki (2017) discusses her field study on the role of traditional children's songs in the early childhood education of preschoolers in Kanye, Botswana. Phuthego (1999) makes a strong case for how the *segaba*, a traditional Botswanan instrument, can be used in culturally responsive music education for Botswanan students.

This thesis will also be in conversation with Peter Murrell's 2002 article "African-Centered Pedagogy: Developing Schools of Achievement for African American Children." I hope to also build on the work of Dr. Jeff Duncan-Andrade, who is Associate Professor of Raza Studies and Education Administration and Interdisciplinary Studies at San Francisco State University. His research interests and publications span the areas of urban schooling and curriculum change, urban teacher development and retention, critical pedagogy, and cultural and ethnic studies. Raza studies is ethnic studies. The term was used to describe a

highly effective culturally responsive curriculum that was designed and executed for marginalized Mexican American students in Arizona.

Key Writings on African American and African Music Traditions

The Black Power Classroom is also in conversation with work in ethnomusicology on African American music traditions. The thesis is a model that uses music to teach Black students about their Africanity. Therefore, the work of African Americanist ethnomusicologists Portia Maultsby (2015), Melonee Burnim (2015), and Cheryl Keyes (2003) is especially important because they all have contributed significant scholarship that examines the Africanity of Black American music and more generally Black sound cultures. In *African American Music: An Introduction*, a volume that she edited with Melonee Burnim, Maultsby contributed a chapter called “The Translated African Cultural and Music Past.” In this chapter she details a large number of African retentions in African American music. She includes African retentions in African American music like instrumental timbre, instrumental vocality, functions of music, and organological retentions. Cheryl Keyes’ article, (2003) “The Aesthetic Significance of African American Sound Culture and Its Impact on American Popular Music Style and Industry” is a well-documented historical argument that details how contemporary mainstream American popular music is completely infused with African American sound culture. I will use her discussions of blues and the Africanity of African American vocal traditions to analyze the culturally responsive instructional models that I observed in Washington DC. Finally, I will use Dr. Nketia’s *Ethnomusicology and African Music: Collected Papers* (2005) as a philosophical basis of this research study. Dr. J.H Kwabena Nketia states:

. . . it has become clear that abstracting the crystals of ethnic musical identity from a melting pot requires extremely refined techniques and certainly detailed knowledge of individual African societies and their music...thus the study of African roots must go side by side with the study of the music of Africa (2005:322).

Finally, Turino's book chapter "The Music of Sub-Saharan Africa" from *Excursions in World Music* (2004) is invaluable because he isolates several general principles of sub-Saharan African music: interlocking melodies, density, cyclical form and variation, and improvisatory conceptions of music. These principles are useful in identifying linkages between African American and African musics that can be used to teach Black students about their African heritage.

Relevant Writings on African American Studies

The most relevant writings in African American studies to this project are by Dr. Janice E. Hale, who was a long-time professor at Wayne State University and Founding Director of the Institute for the Study of the African American Child (ISAAC). Hale details culturally relevant instructional approaches for Black American children in two chapters of her book *Unbank Fire*. Her position is that African American children should receive an education according to their cultural values and that "the study of the cultural values of African American children must flow from a study of the values of African American culture" (1994: 136). She advocates that Black children learn in an instructional style that flows with the orality of African American culture. Hale explains this oral learning style in "The Transmission of Cultural Values to African American Children" in which she discusses oral tradition, including traditional Black American music, like spirituals, storytelling, folk tales, and proverbs. She emphasizes using oral tradition for African American primary education as a process of instruction and learning, rather than just focusing on the teaching of products. She contends that at the genesis of African American culture, children learned history through storytelling, and moral lessons through proverbs and folk tales, which contained "the collective wisdom of African people" (ibid.: 138). In addition to these proverbs and folk tales, she makes the point that during slavery, Black children's "education

into the culture continued with spirituals, work songs, stories..." (ibid.: 145). She discusses the intimacy of the Black community during slavery and how African American belief systems, through oral culture, were absorbed by children by being "caught rather than taught."

Applied Ethnomusicology and Culturally Responsive Music Education Literature from Africa

Within the themes of contemporary ethnomusicology, the area of the field concerned with music education can be considered applied ethnomusicology. Harrison (2012) presents Portia Maultsby's definition of "applied ethnomusicology" as "all kinds of work related to presenting, interpreting, representing, and educating broad audiences about different cultures in various contexts, such as schools, museums..." Maultsby goes on to say that applied ethnomusicology also includes "educational activities" like curricular and educational material development, teacher training, etc..." (ibid.: 514). Building on Maultsby's definition, this literature review section is an inquiry into culturally responsive music education writings by ethnomusicologists from the African countries that have adopted, or who propose to adopt, culturally responsive music education for the same reasons that I am proposing it for African American students—to teach what the Black Panthers call "knowledge of self," as opposed to only knowledge of another culture. Case studies in Africa demonstrate that teaching African heritage using culturally responsive music education must go hand in hand with teacher training on how to deliver such instruction, and policies that drive forward and fund this kind of instruction. I will review literature that analyzes examples of all three of these in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania.

Ghana: Culturally Responsive Music Education Model and Methods

An excellent example of culturally responsive education is the Nunya Academy of Dzodze, in the Ghana's Volta Region. Dzodze is in Ewe land. The academy was founded by Dr. Kofi Gbolonyo, a Ghanaian ethnomusicologist, to teach primary and secondary students in Dzodze indigenous Ewe music/dance pieces, as well as Western band instruments. The primary instructor, Prosper Gbolonyo, uses an oral method to teach western instruments. The students perform both equally well. I was there to engage in a two-week program that trained music educators in how to combine traditional Ghanaian music from various parts of the country with the Orff instrumental instruction method that is widely used in the United States. Through this program I studied with Pius Vordzorgbe who teaches at the University of Ghana, Legon. He published a book and curriculum called *The Joy of Atenteben: Volume 1* (2013), which is intended to be used to teach Ghanaian students this traditional flute who are also learning to read Western notation. It is an excellent example of a culturally responsive music curriculum that teaches Ghanaian heritage. The *atenteben* is a "end blown" bamboo flute from the Kwahu people and the Ashanti kingdom in the Akan region. A canonized repertoire was developed for the instrument by Dr. Kwabena Nketia, Atta Annon Mensah, and Kwasi Aduonum. Vordzorbe reports that the instrument has been modified by Ephraim Amu, who increased its range and redesigned the mouth piece so the flute can be played in a vertical position as opposed to the original transverse position of the Kwahu *atenteben*. He also increased the notes that can be played "to include all the notes used by the Akan and Ewe in their singing" (ibid.: 2). Just as Stock (2008) surmised, Vordzorbe's discussion of the three varieties and tunings of the flute answers questions about Ghanaian cultural ideals, which can in turn enhance student's cultural education.

The three varieties are *Atenteben-Na* (mother) in B flat, *Atenteben-Ba*, (son) in C and *Atenteben-Nana* (grandson) also in C...The *Odurugya*, which is constructed in the key of B flat major serves as the father of the *Atenteben* family. There is also

Odurugya-ba (son of *Odurugya* and therefore uncle of *Atenteben*.) (Vordzobe 2013: 2).

The naming system of each tuning reinforces for students cultural ideals in ethnic groups throughout Ghana like the importance of family and respect for elders. All of the compositions in the curriculum have Ewe names with brief descriptions like "Ewe folk tune" or "Ewe lullaby."

Ghana: Policy Advocacy for Culturally Responsive Music Education

A book chapter by James Flolu (1996) discusses and makes robust recommendations for culturally responsive music education policy in Ghana on a national level. Essentially, the entire chapter leads into Flolu making a case for this kind of instruction at the primary school level. Ghana adopted a cultural studies program in 1987 because in the earlier years of independence in the 1960s, "the teaching of Ghanaian culture has been stressed" (ibid.: 159). Before independence, the school system was based on the British model. The cultural studies program was designed to:

encourage the use of proverbs, essay writing, public speaking, riddles, tongue twisters, appellations (praise names, etc.) poems and rhymes, etc. *The pupils would be made to realize the richness of our musical heritage.* Functionally, the music of our society reveals a great deal about beliefs and sentiments; often it is difficult to separate music from dancing and drama in a socio-religious context. (Ibid.) (emphasis added)

Flolu says that the cultural studies program must take into consideration Ghana's one hundred plus ethnic groups, by "creating a national culture as an inter-ethnic task" (ibid.: 166). This can be compared to the differing African American regional identities.

Flolu also brings up a point that must be considered in the development of such programs—culture is always changing. He cites many examples of this, discussing how some types of folk music are no longer performed (as of the 1996 publication date) and some are performed for different reasons. Instrumentation in ensembles gradually changes. His point

must lead to the conclusion that any cultural studies curriculum must be regularly updated. He also made the point that African music must be taught to students on its own terms, and not in comparison with Western art music. He spends a large part of the chapter making recommendations for a primary school cultural studies program that integrates many forms of Ghanaian expressive culture, including traditional children's instruments, "folktales music activities," incorporating music from life cycle events, *atenteben* ensembles and *atumpan* drum poetry (the *atumpan* is a talking drum). He ends the chapter by making a similar point to Hale's (1994)—in many African and Afro-derived cultures, "knowledge is in one's head, not books...teaching is by example, not precepts, learning is by doing not reading." Just as Hale stressed that African American students learn in the classroom as they do in their culture, through oral tradition, Flolu asserts the "proverbs, riddles, epics, and poetry" of African cultures that should not "simply be dismissed" in the education of Ghanaian students. "African education is practical, aural-oral and informal." He says that in contrast with the "writing culture of the West" that in African cultures "listening and observation interwoven by memory remain the key elements of acquiring the basic skills of social adjustment" (ibid.: 182-183). His work essentially advocates for the oral transference of cultural knowledge to Ghanaian students by teaching them through multi modal artistic education.

Nigeria: Culturally Responsive Music Education Model and Methods

Although there are probably culturally responsive music education models in many West African countries, those from Nigeria, Ghana, and other similar English-speaking countries will be most useful in developing similar models for African America because of the common language and political connections to these countries. Reference the first president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah's relationship to African Americans (Angelou 1991) and the vast number of African American with Nigerian ancestry (Gomez 1998/*Finding Your*

Roots/AfricanAncestry.com). The culturally responsive education models from Nigeria that I will discuss center on a traditional Igbo instrument called the *oja* and Yoruba choral music.

In his book chapter “*Oja* (Igbo Wooden Flute): An Introduction to the Playing Technique and Performance,” Onyeji (2006) provides an overview, a proposal of sorts, for how the *oja* could be used in music education programs in schools and college as a concert instrument, with a specific focus on performance and playing techniques. The *oja* is the flute played by the father of Okonkwo, the lead



Fig. 1.5 Igbo *oja* flutes

character in Chinua Achebe’s acclaimed book about pre-colonial Igbo land *Things Fall Apart*. The Igbo are an ethnic group who originate in the south eastern part of Nigeria.

The *oja* is a high pitched, three-stopped, notched flute made of wood. The Hornbustel and Sachs system classifies it as an aerophone. (ibid.: 197). It is used in “almost all ensembles of mixed instruments,” to perform melodic compositions and is often used as a marshalling device during masquerade performances such as the *Ojionu*. It is also used in non-musical events as a “talking instrument” (Ibid.: 197-198). He discusses playing techniques and issues regarding using western notation verses the traditional oral instructional techniques, and then closes with a great point. The *ojas* use in masquerade makes teaching this instrument a great way to also teach Nigerian students (and African American students!) the masquerade traditions that are a part of many ethnic groups in the country. Its use in masquerade as a marshalling device is also comparable to the way the *apito* whistle is used marshal the *bateria* (drum section) of a samba school by a *mestre de* (“master of”) *bateria*. This fascinating parallel makes the *oja* a wonderful cross-cultural learning device.

Adedeji (2006) offers Yoruba traditional choral styles as a source on which to build culturally responsive music education for Nigerian students. Specific information about traditional musics is very valuable. Just as the proof is in the pudding, the culture is in the music. Adedeji provides fascinating information about the aesthetics and practices in indigenous Yoruba choral styles. He defines the Yoruba as a large ethnic group in Nigeria and indigenous music as Yoruba music that has not been influenced by external factors. He first distinguishes Yoruba choral music from the Western concept. He specifically mentions that Yoruba choral music is not in the SATB format, and that the groups that perform this music are not choirs, and are not chosen for their vocal ability. Choral groups are organized by activity and function. These activities might include life cycle events like weddings, puberty rites, baby naming ceremonies, and other rites of passage. Functions might also include traditional religious worship and political protest rallies. He also discusses Yoruba musical aesthetics and cultural ideals that shape music making. The Yoruba describe music that they find to be beautiful as sweet, beautiful or emotionally evocative (ibid.: 5). He also said a major Yoruba cultural ideal is communalism. This philosophy is expressed through sayings like “isolation oppresses,” “no bird flies with only one wing,” or “let’s do it together.” This cultural ideal is performed in choral singing because it is a participatory tradition. The more who join the better, and anyone participating in the activity will be a part of the choral group. He also mentioned the supremacy of text over music in the tradition, which dictates compositional techniques, scales, song form and melody in a piece. He ends the chapter by discussing vocal styles that singers employ, which is generally a raspy tone with tone qualities and colors that are the chief distinguishing characteristics of the music. Vocal style is also determined by the traditions of each ethnic sub division. He draws extensively on Nketia (1974) to provide a list of different forms, which include many variations of call and response, but are by no means limited to this. He closes by discussing

new trends in Yoruba choral music, which includes the use of certain compositions that are adapted to 'hymn form' in Christian settings. He said that the potential for culturally responsive music education might include simply presenting information about the role and function of Yoruba choral music, and perhaps teaching a canon of songs that explain the cultural significance of the functions or activities that the songs are connected to.

Kenya: Educational Policies for Culturally Responsive Music Education

Floyd (1996) provides information on how national policies to promote traditional music in Kenya affected the use of traditional Kenyan music in the country's music education program. In 1982 President Moi set up a 'Presidential National Music Commission' that was tasked with writing a report about the safeguarding, preservation, promotion and assurance of quality control of the "traditional music and dance of Kenyan peoples" (ibid.: 186). The document took two years to compile and was thousands of pages long. A key recommendation was that "music syllabi should emphasise the theory and practice of traditional African music which is relevant to the child's environment," that "music teachers be recruited by the Ministry of Education to write text books," that "traditional musicians should be made use of in schools...as tutors" and that "music and other cultural subjects in schools" must be assessed through exams and included in the "Kenya Certificate of Primary Education" (ibid.: 187). They also suggested traditional music be used to foster cross-cultural understanding among Kenya's various ethnic groups. Floyd details the historical factors that led to the creation of the commission: a strictly British educational system with only British music education during the colonial period; a mediocre effort to include Kenyan traditional music in the curriculum with an over focus on the national anthems and western music notation based on imported British text books; very little Kenyan traditional music in the country's media; and rapid acculturation of Western "popular" cultural forms. Floyd then reports on how the commission's recommendations played out by examining the music

education text books that were produced for this effort. He discovered that the books did include a number of traditional songs and instruments, but that they predominantly represented the Kikuyu ethnic group over other groups, which does not foster cross-cultural understandings between Kenya's ethnic groups. He correlated this to the authors of the books, the majority of whom were Kikuyu. I was delighted to read in his report that schools have been involving traditional musicians as visiting specialists or non-teaching staff. Floyd also reports that traditional music was required in examinations through a national goal of respect and development of "Cultural Heritage Education." He ends the chapter with an analysis of the music education syllabi, concluding that the authorities in Kenya have shown a remarkable interest in maintaining and developing the cultural traditions of the population.

Tanzania: A Professional Development and Certification Model for Culturally Responsive Music Education

Hildegard and Anundsen's book chapter (2006) about music teaching workshops in Tanzania for participants from the University of Dar es Salaam offers an excellent model for professional development for music educators. It also is a good model for my proposed certificate program for music educators who will work in school districts with high populations of African American students. The authors carried out a pilot training program in Zanzibar to qualify teachers to teach music to children in schools and to "find an approach to teaching music that may apply to local cultures" (ibid.: 61). The need for these workshops was predicated by the same issue that is prevalent in the United States: "music teaching in schools in Tanzania meant repeating old colonial habits of learning European songs. Formal music education was expected to start with staff notation and going through western 'classical' music" (ibid.: 62). To adapt a culturally responsive model that focused on teaching traditional Tanzanian music, they acknowledged that "the culture itself is probably the best

guide to how we should teach” and that there is a successful teaching method “inherent in the culture itself” (ibid.: 62). This is the case made by both Hale and Flolu.

The report that they gave on the first workshop is very exciting because culturally specific teaching methodologies were formalized through a very organic process. Participants were divided into groups and asked to teach the group a song or dance. From the process that each engaged in, they distilled three teaching principles. The first is using *imitation* as a music teaching method. This involves having children repeat or play a song one line at a time or repeating the whole song after the teacher. (I routinely use this method in my own classroom, and it is extremely effective.) The second method was *call and response*. The leader gives a call and others reply with a different phrase. Students learn both the lead and follower part. The third is *improvisation*. This method involves giving students a “solid musical framework” like a repeated rhythm or melodic phrase as a starting point for improvisation. The authors report that the participants worked on developing activities for children that corresponded with each methodology.

The second workshop guided each participant to collect a repertoire of Swahili children’s songs. Several participants received training in recording and music educating skills. This workshop led to the idea of publishing a book of Swahili children’s songs. The third workshop focused on the use of storytelling as a teaching method. Participants drew on stories from their own childhoods. They were also encouraged to make “traditional instruments” using found materials. I think this is a bit controversial, because why not procure ‘real’ instruments. Each participant made their own *lekolilo* flute. This seems legitimate because people who play these flutes make them. However, this flute is from Southern Africa and Tanzania is in East Africa. Why did they not focus on a flute from a culture in Tanzania since the program is for students in this country? Either way, this training method is useful for music teachers and students on African American organology. For the

fourth workshop they attempted a ‘cross cultural’ kind of approach and integrated Norwegian music storytelling and concerts. The fifth workshop focused on two Tanzanian teachers sharing their experience with teaching traditional music in the classroom setting. As an exam and way of earning a certificate, each participant had to prepare a lesson involving the elements from the various workshops and teach it to a group of students. This series of workshops is a fun and engaging paradigm for an African American music and culture music education certificate for American music teachers.

Methodology in Developing a Culturally Responsive Music Education

My methodology in developing this culturally responsive music education model for African American students is simple. I conducted a fieldwork study at Lucy Moten Elementary School in the classroom of music educator Allyson Chamberlain. Chamberlain executes a music program that teaches her African American students about their African heritage. I conducted extensive interviews with Chamberlain and observed numerous sessions with one fourth-grade class. For this project, I will also use materials from my Botswana fieldwork for comparative purposes. In Botswana I researched how traditional Botswanan music is used to teach national identity to primary school students. Botswanan national identity is synonymous with Setswana cultural identity. Therefore, all Botswanan schools use a culturally responsive music-driven curriculum to teach their students Setswana cultural identity. I used varying methodologies for this project. I conducted interviews with Botswanan ethnomusicologists, traditional musicians, and other culture bearers to gain an understanding of Botswanan national identity. I also conducted many interviews with primary school educators. Additionally, I conducted observations at four primary schools and traveled throughout the country extensively to different cultural sites.

Goals and Objectives

My objective is to use my fieldwork in Washington DC and Botswanan classrooms, as well as secondary sources, to develop a culturally responsive music education model for African American children. In the next chapter I will overview the history of education of Blacks in the United States, with a focus on inequities in the curriculum used to teach Black students. I will also compare African American's historical agenda for the education of their children with the agenda of the State, which operates as a colonial actor in Black education. I will also discuss how African American music education fits into the broader agenda of African American education. I will end with the disturbing psychological and emotional affects that the ubiquitous Eurocentrism in American education has on Black students. In the third chapter I will discuss culturally responsive music education strategies employed by music educator Allyson Chamberlain in Washington DC that include African American orality/kinetic orality, traditional African American vocal pedagogy and the use of organology and instruction on a traditional African instrument to teach African heritage. Finally, in Chapter Four, I will discuss how music education is used to teach African heritage in Botswanan primary schools. From my field work in Botswana, I will highlight several affective strategies used in primary schools to deliver culture-specific lessons that are driven by traditional music.

Chapter 2: How Does African American Music Education Fit into the Broader Agenda of African American Education?

The question that this chapter attempts to answer is huge. How indeed does African American music education fit into the broader agenda of African American education? Two initial thoughts must first be considered. First, it is difficult to assess the agenda of African American education because there is a question of *whose* agenda. Do the African American people have a collective agenda for the education of their children? Do individual African American families, or African Americans in specific cities? Or perhaps majority African American city councils? Does the United States federal government? Do state governments? Do individual municipalities? The answer to all of these questions is yes, and for the most part, the agendas that African Americans have for their children's education are indicated by the history of Black education, the African American national identity that is connected to the educational achievements of its leaders, the touchstone events of African America that are connected to education, and African American expressive culture and traditions that reflect the value of educational achievement. This brief examination will also reveal the agenda of "The State" regarding Black education, which for the most part shares in the responsibility of educating Black children through public school systems. Let us begin.

History of Black American Education

It is very important to consider the history of Black American education in the United States as a structural paradigm for its current state and broader agendas. The United States began as a collective of British (and British acquired) colonies that turned into a group of "united" states after the Revolutionary War. Englishman, Scots, Irish, and other European groups, who eventually became White Americans, were regarded as citizens of these entities. The Africans from present day Gambia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Mali, Angola, and other areas (Gomez, 1998:28) were brought to these colonies as slaves and were treated as

colonial subjects, objectified chattel, and labor commodities. Colonial governments, and the majority of White citizens, viewed them as a source of servitude and financial profit for themselves. Hence, the constitutional declaration that Blacks were only “three-fifths of a human being.” Therefore, since these governments were controlled by White American colonists, state and local governments were structured for their own benefit, and not at all for the benefit of Black colonial subjects.

Governmental structures that ensured

White privilege were a major force set in motion from the onset of the country regarding Black education. The state agenda, which reflected the desires of the White electorate, was never for Blacks to be educated with the goal of becoming thriving, paid, and prosperous members of the workforce. The state agenda was for Black colonial subjects to serve White citizens as unpaid farm, business, and household laborers. This is why it was illegal in most slave states for African Americans to learn how to read. In support of this view, Woodson states the following.

Since the beginning of formal schooling in the United States, a dominant view that citizenship should be limited to free Whites informed popular attitudes about the role that education should play in the lives of Americans of African descent and other people of color. The majority of White citizens in the American South believed that educating captive Africans would render them unfit for servitude and make it impossible to subordinate them or to retain them as slaves (Woodson, 2006: 1919).

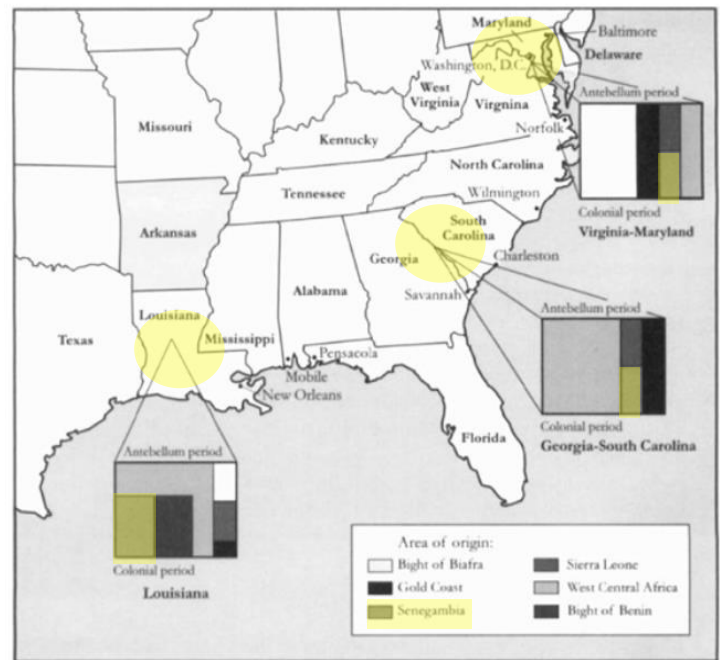


Fig. 2.1A “Africans in the American South by Area of Origin.” Yellow highlighting over number of Africans who came into the United States from Senegambia. Gomez, Michael. From *Exchanging Our Country Marks*. 1998 Univ. of North Carolina Press, Page 150.

Now let us consider another force regarding Black education. Africans who arrived in the United States came from cultures that already had rich and established systems of education. In his book *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, historian Michael Gomez established the major areas where Africans came from during the slavery period. Gomez documents that 13.5 percent of Africans brought into the United States came from the Senegambia region (Gomez, 1998: 28). This was the region of the Manding kingdoms, in the northern part of West Africa, that derived from the legendary Mali Empire - an empire which established the University of Timbuktu or Sankore University in the twelfth century, the first university in the world (and that is now an UNESCO World Heritage site). According to Henry Louis Gates's *Wonders of the African World* (2000), young men in Manding society in the mid-1700s went to study at Timbuktu. He also revealed to Western viewers the thousands of manuscripts that are still held by Timbuktu's families with scholarly lineages. Another West African center of education was the kingdom of Fouta Djallon in present day Guinea. Many enslaved Africans who came to the United States were already educated in their indigenous societies, like Fouta Djallon. One such historical figure was Bilali Muhammed of Sapelo Island, Georgia, whose handwritten Arabic manuscript of West African Islamic law is held at the University of Georgia as a part of the Francis Goulding papers. Furthermore, in many West African societies, knowledge pertaining to certain trades was transmitted through apprenticeship systems, or in families who were apart of specific artisan classes. The Manding Nyamakala class, to which Manding *Jelis* (or Griots) belong, also includes artisans who are wood sculptures, potters, Blacksmiths, leather workers and who are involved in other trades (Charry, 2000: 48). Nyamakala children receive "rigorous apprenticeship in their extended families," and Charry specifically cites that "*Jelis*, for example, have the exclusive right to play certain instruments that others do not take up. It is their birthright, honed by years of apprenticeship (49). Such knowledge is passed down from parent to offspring and is

what Angelou terms as “closed knowledge” because not everyone in the society has access to it (Angelou 1968). These “closed knowledge” systems parallel artisan families in Venice, Italy for example, who still hold secrets for working with glass and other materials.

Furthermore, West and Central African societies (as well as others all over the continent) had systems of educating their young people in preparation for adulthood. Reference the Sande Societies of Sierra Leone and Liberia that traditionally educate teen girls in herbal knowledge, traditional dance, and other subjects to prepare them for productive womanhood (Boone 1986: 14). Educating children to prepare them to be productive adults within a society is a universal part of the human experience.

When Africans arrived in North American colonies, and eventually became African Americans, this drive for education continued. However, the family-facilitated education of African American youth had to be adjusted to make sure they knew how to survive and stay alive under the bondage of slavery - i.e. the new and oppressive colonial state. One major focus also included learning how to read or gaining “formal Western” education. This was a resistance tactic against slavery, and directly opposed the colonial agenda for Black education, or should I say “non-education.” “As indicated, Black communities have long advocated for themselves an education for liberation, and education that promotes their full participation in the civic and economic life of the nation or that provides the means for self-sufficiency” (Woodson, 2006: 1919). These two forces have historically defined the African American agenda for their children’s education and expose the opposing governmental agenda towards the same.

The drive of African Americans to gain formal education during and after slavery can be assessed by the legal penalties that gradually increased in severity if an African American was caught reading or teaching others how to read. The punishment was most severe for Black people teaching other Blacks how to read.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That any free person, who shall hereafter teach, or attempt to teach, any slave within the State to read or write, the use of figures excepted, or shall give or sell to such slave or slaves any books or pamphlets, shall be liable to indictment in any court of record in this State having jurisdiction thereof, and upon conviction, shall, at the discretion of the court, if a White man or woman, be fined not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than two hundred dollars, or imprisoned; and if a free person of color, shall be fined, imprisoned, or whipped, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty nine lashes, nor less than twenty lashes.

II. *Be it further enacted, That if any slave shall hereafter teach, or attempt to teach, any other slave to read or write, the use of figures excepted, he or she may be carried before any justice of the peace, and on conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to receive thirty nine lashes on his or her bare back.* (www.historyisaweapon.com)

In many slave states the state penalty for reading was the amputation of body parts, like fingers (Gibbs, 2018). Yet, if the state/slave owners were willing to resort to such brutal tactics, then that is an indication of the increasing numbers of Black people who were willing to risk less severe penalties in order to learn to read.

Black Education during Reconstruction and Jim Crow: Determination, Resistance, and the State as Colonial Actor

Black education during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow periods, from 1865 into the mid-1960s, was marked by Black determination, ingenuity and resilience on one hand, and a fierce legislative, municipal and governmental resistance to Black education on the other. We can assess the Black agenda for education by the institutions that they created to carry out the task, and the state's resistance to Black education, as a colonial actor, by the laws and policies that were enacted to limit it. James Baldwin made a profound statement during his 1968 appearance on the *Dick Cavett Show* that explains my approach to analyzing the agenda of "The State."

I don't know how most White people in this country feel. But I can only conclude how they feel by the state of their institutions. I don't know if the labor unions and their bosses really hate me, that doesn't matter, but I know that I am not in their unions. I don't know if the real estate lobbyists have anything against Black people, but I know the real estate lobbyists keep me in the ghetto. I don't know if the board of education hates Black people, but I know the text books they give my children to read and the schools where have to go to. Now...this is the evidence...(June 13, 1968; emphasis added)

Yes, this is the evidence. Now and then. And this analysis is necessary to show how the initial contrary forces of early America regarding Black education have continued into the present day.

After slavery, African Americans and key allies set up colleges and universities specifically for Black Americans, who were subject to the racially discriminatory admissions policies of “mainstream” higher education institutions. These historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) are a part of the African American national identity. Early on, many of these schools had non-traditional structures, and even fundraising mechanisms, that allowed Black students to attend: many who were newly freed slaves with very little resources. The first class of Hampton University worked in cotton fields by day and attended class by night. The Fisk Jubilee Singers traveled all over the world to raise the funds to ensure that Fisk University stayed open. African American autobiographies from this period are filled with stories of those who became “the leaders of the race,” who were so determined to obtain a college education that they literally walked great distances through multiple states to Black universities like Hampton, often showing up with no tuition funds, but who worked their way through school to pay for their education. This is Booker T. Washington’s story, who founded Tuskegee University in Alabama, and who became one of the major leaders of African Americans in the early twentieth century (Washington 1901). The other major leaders became so because of their achievements and work in education. WEB Dubois was the first African American to graduate with a PhD from Harvard University and was a key founder of the Niagara Movement of 1904, which later became the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He founded *Crisis Magazine* and was a major African American leader of the first half of the twentieth century. Mary McLeod Bethune was another major African American leader who founded Bethune Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida (where my paternal grandmother graduated with a degree in education). The

fact that these were the three major African American leaders, whose tripartite photos were displayed in most Black elementary schools, indicates African American attitudes towards their education.

Diametrically opposed to the African American determination for education was the agenda of the state in both the North and the South. State controlled educational policies that affected Black learners were damaging in both places. However, the examples during the Jim Crow period in the Southern states, which was determined/co-signed by a majority White electorate were infamous. The abuse of state and county governments that was enacted upon Black children in the area of education is widely known and has become a part of the record of United States' historical atrocities. The conditions that Black children were subjected to brought about the legal challenge that launched the entire Civil Rights Movement. About this historical reality, Woodson states the following: "the goals of Black communities notwithstanding, White power interests have historically used the material and political resources at their disposal to exercise tremendous control over the direction of the education of Black children and youth" (Woodson, 2006: 1919).

Let us talk about the South with a few examples. We know that schools were racially segregated. Almost all tax dollars were used to fund White children's education. Schools for White children were larger, newer, had educational supplies and more teachers who were paid higher. White children had county-funded busses to transport them to and from their schools. They also typically went to school ten months out of the year. These schools required a letter from a child's doctor that declared them to be "legally White," and that ensured that they had no African American ancestry. In contrast, schools that Black children had to attend often received no public funding, or very little. There were almost no educational supplies, and their teachers, who were all African American, were paid less. Schools were often one roomed affairs with no heating. If there were text books, they were twenty-year-old hand me downs

from the White schools. Mildred Taylor, in her Newberry Prize winning novel *Roll of Thunder Hear My Cry* (1976), which is largely based on her family story, gives a very clear picture of what Black education was like for children in rural Mississippi. The main characters, the Logan children, had to endure a one-hour walk to their school “Great Faith,” which Great Faith church supplemented with funds. The “White bus” often sped by them carrying White children who hurled insults that were liberal with the N word at them through the windows. Some children lived in an area where the local elementary school only went up to the fourth grade. To continue their education, they had to walk three hours to and from Great Faith. Also, they were only permitted to attend school for six months out of the year, from October to March, in between the cotton harvest and planting seasons. African American autobiography and civil rights law suits codifies Taylors account. The Brown v Board of Education law suit was brought against the Topeka, Kansas board of education because Mr. Brown’s young daughter had to walk miles from their home to the “Black” school, and cross dangerous railroad tracks to get there, when a ‘White’ school was just next door that would not admit her on the basis of race. John Lewis (2015) described his excitement when he first learned of the 1954 Brown decision because he thought he would be able to attend the larger and “better” White school, and that the county would provide a school bus for him and his Black counterparts. SNCC leader, Bob Moses describes the condition of Mississippi’s children when he first arrived in 1961:

Amzie made me welcome immediately, and for a week, we reconnoitered the area and discussed strategy. We went from shack to shack, and he showed me scenes that I’ll never forget: children with swollen ankles, bloated bellies, and suppurating sores; children whose one meal a day was grits and gravy; children who didn’t know the taste of milk, meat, fruits or vegetables; children who drank contaminated water from a distant well, slept five in a bed, and didn’t have energy to brush the flies from their faces. We were in the Delta, but it might as well have been Haiti (Heath 2014: 11). (emphasis added)

This was the situation with Black children all over the southern states in varying degrees. Being forced to attend schools with no resources, that took difficult journeys to even get to, and only being allowed to attend school six months (or less) out of the year (if they

were allowed to attend at all) meant that Black children in the South learned *less* than White children. It was a system designed to keep them trapped in doing the agricultural work of their enslaved ancestors. During my visit to the Cotton Exchange in Memphis, I witnessed how these policies sustained the Southern Cotton Empire: cotton produced by these children-turned-adults who were denied an education that would have allowed them to pursue careers, was traded all over the global market and made plantation owners rich. This in turn gave them more political power to ensure that state policies would always privilege Whites and that education systems would work in their favor. It was a system that ensured the continuation of the “haves” and “have nots.” This was state perpetrated educational abuse of Black children.

In northern states, there were issues as well. Some Black children attended segregated schools because of housing discrimination in cities, like Chicago for instance, where Black people were only permitted to live in certain areas. Their schools were under resourced as well because school funding was (and still is) determined by real estate taxes. If they attended integrated schools, then their education was plagued with other issues, specifically racial discrimination by White teachers. Miles Davis shares an example of this from his elementary school experience in St. Louis, Missouri:

Grammy award winning trumpeter Miles Davis admits that he hasn't quite been able to come to terms with the racial discrimination he suffered as a child. He once recalled being "the best in the music class on the trumpet, but all the contest first prizes went to the boys with the blue eyes." (*Jet* Mar 25, 1985)

Like Miles Davis experienced, many Black children who attended ‘integrated’ schools in the north were subjected to the racist attitudes of White teachers, which often meant that they believed that Black children were less intelligent and capable than White children. It also meant that Black children who were obviously gifted, like Miles Davis, were demeaned and

overlooked, because their White teachers would not acknowledge that they excelled at something, like music in Davis's case, beyond their White peers.

It is clear from the history of Black education that African Americans have always viewed education as a cultural achievement, a paradigm of success, and a means of escaping their historical role in the American economy as objectified free and cheap labor. It is also clear that the agenda of the state regarding Black education, which reflects the desires of a historically White electorate, has been to ensure an educational system that maintains Blacks as a cheap labor force. This is why the educational achievements and career success of Black leaders and HBCUs have been so central to African American national identity and reflective of the Black agenda for their children's education. Black people who overcame the odds of being relegated to the status quo of sharecropping or other menial labor, like WEB Du Bois or Alex Haley's father, Simon Haley, were revered in the Black community. The question about the contemporary state of Black education is this: if educational achievement became such a large part of the ethos of African Americans, and was/is central to their values, then how do we account for the myriad of adverse issues that are still evident in Black children's education today? In order to examine the contemporary state of Black education, and how music education fits into it, we must consider the markers of the coloniality in public education that have continued beyond of the Civil Rights Movement.

White Coloniality of the Public Education of Black Children: Past into the Present

Issues related to Black education that were prevalent during the Jim Crow period brought the Civil Rights Movement to its pinnacle. Huge and highly visible touchstone events drove forward the legal and political agenda of the Movement. Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP began to wage the war against racial segregation in schools in the 1940s, starting with litigating Black admissions to state law schools. As was mentioned before, the NAACP moved on to desegregating primary and secondary schools in 1954 with a collection of cases

under the heading of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas. The 1957 Little Rock Nine desegregation in Arkansas, the 1960 Ruby Bridges school desegregation in New Orleans, and the violent war that Mississippi Whites waged against James Meredith desegregating the University of Mississippi (a state tax funded school!) all were not only the stuff of the Movement, but codified collective African American attitudes that intrinsically linked Black education, civil rights, equitability, and Black American economic advancement. The Civil Rights Movement, and subsequent Black Power Movement, continued to hold central issues regarding the way Black children were educated. Both the 1972 National Black Political Convention, held in Gary, Indiana, and the Black Panthers Ten Point Program, address the African American agenda for Black education and elucidate the coloniality of American education.

**We Want Education For Our People That Exposes
The True Nature Of This Decadent American Society.
We Want Education That Teaches Us Our True History
And Our Role In The Present-Day Society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

Ten Point Program, Black Panther Party, October 15, 1966 (emphasis added)

Our cities are crime-haunted dying grounds. Huge sectors of our youth — and countless others — face permanent unemployment. Those of us who work find our paychecks able to purchase less and less. Neither the courts nor the prisons contribute to anything resembling justice or reformation. **The schools are unable — or unwilling — to educate our children for the real world of our struggles.** Meanwhile, the officially approved epidemic of drugs threatens to wipe out the minds and strength of our best young warriors...

The American system does not work for the masses of our people, and it cannot be made to work without radical fundamental change. (Indeed this system does not really work in favor of the humanity of anyone in America.)

The Black Agenda Gary Declaration, National Black Political Convention, 1972 (emphasis added)

Both of these declarations illuminate both the post-Civil Rights African American desire for their children's education, and the coloniality of the education that their children were receiving. The fifth point of the Black Panther manifesto indicates that the thousands of members of the party, and their non-affiliated supporters, believed that the American education system did not teach Black children true history or give "knowledge of self." The National Black Political Convention declared that public school systems had failed Black children.

While the education of a child is the ultimate responsibility of parents and family, schools that are funded with public tax dollars should fairly and equitably serve all of their students. At the time when both of these documents were created, although schools had been desegregated towards the effort of educational equity for Black children, many in urban cities were subject to a de facto segregation because of "White flight."

The term *White flight* refers to the phenomenon of Whites, usually upper and middle class, rapidly moving out of cities and into suburbs as Blacks and other minorities move in. The result is residential segregation that leaves cities poorer and minority residents stranded in the city center... White flight happens more often, more rapidly, and more completely when the incoming group is Black. First used to describe the massive demographic shifts that took place in the period just after World War II, White flight has also occurred since then, particularly in cities throughout the northeastern, midwestern, and western United States (Jackson 2008).

When Whites moved out of the cities and into the suburbs, their children continued to benefit from a well-resourced, well-funded White-only education. Urban school districts were mostly Black school districts, marked with over-crowding, low funding and low performance on standardized tests. Real estate in suburbs was expensive, and the connected tax dollars helped maintain privilege in education for White students. Real estate in cities was inexpensive and marked with "urban blight," particularly in majority Black areas of cities like Washington DC's "east of the park," Chicago's "Southside" and New York City's Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant, and other areas. As Jackson states, "This demographic change strains the fiscal

resources of central city governments, leaving inner-city residents with the prospect of increased taxes, diminished public services, and higher levels of unemployment” (2008). One diminished public service was public education. The comparably low real estate taxes used to fund public schools in those areas helped to maintain disadvantage in education for Black students. This was essentially the paradigm in education that I remember during my childhood years in the 1980s and 1990s. If the children of a family had to attend public school, versus private school, then a family’s address determined the quality of education that their children received. And suburban schools were thought to be better than urban schools. In fact, it seemed that high test scores correlated not only with the location of the school, but sometimes even the Whiteness of a school. Popular explanations for this trend were that Black children were less intelligent than their White counterparts, versus considerations of the socio-economic privilege of majority White schools which afforded them a better resourced education.

It is also the position of this thesis that this kind of economic inequity is not the only point of coloniality in Black education. There are many points of coloniality that cannot be addressed in this thesis, and many would solely cite as evidence the wide margins between the standardized test scores of White children compared to Black children. (According to the US Department of Education (2016), at grade 4, the White-Black achievement gap on “standardized” tests in reading and math was 26 points. I placed standardized in quotes because it is commonly thought that these tests are written according to the “mainstream” cultural experiences of White children, and not minority children.) It is my opinion, however, that Black test scores are simply an ancillary symptom of educational coloniality that requires deeper analysis to understand. It is my position that the major point of coloniality in Black education is the curriculum that Black children are subjected to. This thesis addresses this

issue head on in the realm of music education by drawing on ethnomusicology to present viable models for African American culturally responsive education.

Coloniality of African American Music Education: A Case Study

To discuss the coloniality of the public education curriculum, particularly music education curriculum, I will draw on knowledge from my eighteen years of experience as a music educator and from other sources. Because the United States has a decentralized school system that is controlled by county or city governments, state governments, and federal laws, it is impossible to know the status of the curriculum nation-wide. I can, however, draw on my years of experience in multiple school systems and charter schools to comment on the patterns that I have seen, and on my observations of how the Eurocentric curriculum affects African American students. By and large I have seen the schools that I have worked with use a Eurocentric curriculum in all subject areas. The effect on African American students is that they see European/Euro-American culture as “mainstream,” normal, and superior, and themselves and their culture as abnormal and inferior. I will illustrate this with a few general education and music education examples and then submit as proof one example of several psychological studies done in this area. I will then present my own experience with the effectiveness of a culturally responsive music education instruction. Finally, I will share my vision for African American education and how culturally responsive music fits into it.

Charter Schools as a Colonial Force, the Black Body, and "Edu-business",

Although I have worked in many public schools, I am starting with my experience in charter schools to demonstrate the coloniality of music education for Black children, because these experiences have been the most restrictive in using a culturally responsive music instruction for the Black children they claimed to serve. Charter schools have become a dominant trend in educating Black children who live in inner cities. The US Department of

Education reports that “Black students accounted for a higher percentage of enrollment in public charter schools (28 percent) than in traditional public schools (15 percent) in 2012” (2016). This charter school trend directly corresponds with the “gentrification” of US cities. Euro-Americans are moving from suburbs into cities. The alarming statistics associated with Black children, like low test scores, higher high school attrition rates, low college attendance, and other factors, have stimulated billions of dollars in grant funding. Federal and local municipal funds flow into charter schools that claim their particular program is the answer for solving these issues in a specific neighborhood and city. A special “charter” is granted by a city, and these schools have to deliver on what they said they could do with their students, which usually involves higher test scores than regular public schools in the area. If they fail after five years, then they might receive an extension. If they fail after that time period, then the city or state revokes their charter. I have seen schools either close (after ruining ten years’ worth of students!), become a part of other charter school networks, or be subsumed into the local public-school systems. Many charter schools grow into vast empires, like the KIPP charter school network for instance, with hundreds or even thousands of schools all over the country—always in cities with economically depressed populations of people of color, who are almost always African American or Latino. And therein lies the issue. While almost all of the children and families “served” by these schools are people of color, the people who control these schools, from the administrators to the teachers, are largely White and are a part of the gentrification of the city. They are the “haves” and their students the “have-nots.” With that demographic description alone, the issues of coloniality are apparent. Whites have the educational credentials, and the advantage of White privilege, to not only set up these schools, but to be entrusted with millions of dollars of grant funds by White-led corporations and foundations. These schools are profitable businesses and provide thousands of White gentrifiers jobs and income to enjoy the city life, while they in turn

attempt to educate Black children from their position of privilege and power, and often, with racially biased attitudes. While there are exceptions to this trend, and even charter schools founded and controlled by African Americans, Latino Americans, and others who are culture bearers from the same ethnic group as the children they serve, they are few. My former description far outweighs the latter in the business of charter schools. The enrolled children are like commodities, the Black bodies, that the state funds to these schools to educate. Each documented “special need” a child has, allows the school to ‘bill’ the state for the cost of supposedly serving that need. Each child has a price point.

I would like to describe one case study, since Lila Abu Lughod points out that it is impossible for a researcher to speak for an entire group, let alone a nation full of schools and school systems. I would therefore like to discuss my experience at a charter school in the South Bronx, as an institutional “ethnography of the particular,” to illustrate the coloniality of charter schools, and public education generally, in connection with music education for Black children. I will refer to this institution as the Charter School.

The Charter School is an elementary school located in the South Bronx, in the poorest congressional district in the country. The school was housed in the building of a public middle school, very close to a place that sold live chickens. While the students were mostly Afro-Latino from the Dominican Republic, West African, or African American, all of the fifty teachers were White, except for me (the music teacher), the art and physical education teachers, and the dean. The office help staff that served the White administration was all Latino. The staff composition was first point of coloniality, according to Ladson-Billings.

The notion of “cultural relevance” moves beyond language to include other aspects of student and school culture. Thus, culturally relevant teaching uses student culture in order to maintain it and to transcend the negative effects of the dominant culture. The negative effects are brought about, for example, by not seeing one’s history, culture, or background represented in the textbook or curriculum or by seeing that history, culture, or background distorted. Or they may result from the staffing pattern

in the school (when all teachers and principal are White and only the janitors and cafeteria workers are African American, for example) (Ladson-Billings 2009: 19-20) (emphasis added)

At this school, there were no classroom teachers from the student's ethnic background to serve as "mirrors." The only people of color taught subjects that were seen as inconsequential or who were the help staff. (I have seen this staffing pattern again and again at many, many, many schools that purport to serve Black children.) Furthermore, with complete disregard for the students' cultural background as Afro-descendants, and the Afro-descendant ethnic demographic of that area of the Bronx, New York City granted a culturally insensitive charter to the Executive Director, a White male truck driver turned Strathmore graduate and financial professional on Wall Street, who went into teaching as a second career. After just two years of teaching, he believed he knew how best to educate the children of this neighborhood. He crafted a charter that proposed that European classicism, as well as stringent test preparation and a twelve-hour school day for the third through fifth grades during testing season, was the way to address the low student test scores and low college attendance rates of that area. Generally, the coloniality of this school was apparent in the mission of the school and the discrepancy in cultural capital and economic power of the teachers and administrators to the students. The school made no attempts to center the children's culture in the education they received there. The White teachers all lived in the luxurious Upper East Side of Manhattan, and conveniently took the six train to the school in this poverty-stricken neighborhood. Most were young White women, below twenty-five, who were in a teacher training graduate program that served as a "feeder" source for the school. (Which had extremely high turnover rates. They replaced thirty to sixty percent of their teachers each year.) All dressed the same, looked the same, and came from similar socio-economic backgrounds of upper middle-class privilege. I observed extremely racist behavior towards the children in this teaching staff, including, but not limited to, minstrel-like mimicry

of Black speech and inappropriate remarks made to the students about the Black protests in reaction to Trayvon Martin's murder. The curriculum was entirely Eurocentric, with zero presence of Black culture. I remember that there was a particular interest in teaching the second graders about George Washington and the so-called "founding fathers." In this teaching there was no mention that George Washington was a slave owner—a White male who might have owned the students' ancestors. Once it came out that he was a slave owner (I let it slip), the second-grade teachers told the children that he was still a "good guy." (These were the exact words of one of my second graders.) These instructors were literally colonizing their students by teaching them to identify with the "colonizer." When I told the students that George Washington was not a "good guy," because no one who enslaves someone else is nice, the Director of Curriculum and Instruction became upset at me and ordered me ask for permission from the second-grade teachers before discussing American history topics.

My instruction was the only source for the children of what the Black Panthers called in their Ten Point Program an education "That Teaches Us Our True History And Our Role In The Present-Day Society" or "knowledge of self." When I began teaching a curriculum that I designed called "Samba, Soul and Civil Rights," it raised the ire of the administrators and teachers. The Black dean of the school told me that this unit raised the consciousness of my students, or in other words, it decolonized them.

transatlantic slave trade. I wanted to use the excerpt from *Roots* that shows Kunte Kinte being captured by slave traders in order to illustrate this connection. (While there has been controversy around Haley's *Roots*, the uncontested and documented fact of Kunta Kinte's abduction from the Gambia and enslavement in the United States was the driving point of the lesson.) All curriculum was reviewed and vetted by the Director of Curriculum and Instruction, a White woman from North Carolina. She objected to me showing the scene, wanted to view it for herself, and then, ultimately, she and the Executive Director forbade me to show it. After this, they placed me under constant observation, which is an abnormal practice for a school. Teachers are only observed by a supervisor, or anyone else, not more than four times per year. I was being observed all day every day by more than one person, including my supervisor, while I taught "Samba, Soul and Civil Rights." I also noticed that the White classroom teachers were visibly offended when they observed a rehearsal of my students performing a Max Roach song that I wrote lyrics to about Nelson Mandela being the first Black president of South Africa. Also, little did I know that my students completely absorbed all of my lessons that connected music to Black history and culture, particularly slavery. If their classroom teacher said something inconsistent with one of my lessons, they would correct the teacher by saying "No, that's not right...Ms. Cunningham said ..." I gave them power with knowledge of self! I am sure you can guess the reaction of this school, hence the constant observation. The Black dean told me that my lessons about African American slavery and the music of the civil rights movement were "too close to home" for the White teachers and administrators. Eventually, the Director of Curriculum and Instruction emailed me to say that the school did not feel that teaching the social and cultural context of music was "music" (an attitude which is anti-ethnomusicology). I responded by citing that my instruction was guided by the fifth New York State Arts Standard—connecting music with its cultural context. She in turn responded by saying that the school wanted me to only focus on

standard one, which was to teach performance, and the reading/writing of the Western music notation system. In other words, they wanted me to shut up about Black history and culture. Why? Because of their positionality.

I shared this experience in detail because all of the dynamics that I described perfectly illustrate the colonality of Black music education. This school was a micro-level example of what is happening at the macro-level, in entire school systems and states. The core issue of colonality in Black music education was embodied in the positionality of the teachers and administrators in relationship to the positionality of the students. Anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod's groundbreaking essay "Writing Against Culture" (1991) addresses the issue of positionality. Abu-Lughod discusses and questions issues related to the "self/other" dichotomy that are ever present in ethnographic research, particularly when research is conducted by cultural outsiders. I contend that this problematic dichotomy is especially prevalent in the realm of American education, which I have observed is much less reflective than the field of anthropology or ethnomusicology with regards to racial issues (to the extent that it can be avoidant of these issues, which speaks to the positionality of those who control the conversation). Abu-Lughod says that the self/other dichotomy is based on a larger "western versus non-western" division, imposed by Westerners. In the situation of this school, the White teachers and administrators were operating in this self/other dichotomy in relationship to their Afro-descendant students, who were their relational "others." The truth is that most of the staff members of the school were cultural outsiders to their students. These teachers were in the position of power, due to their socio-economic background, teaching certificates, high levels of education, and White privilege, which allowed them to make decisions about these children's education—what they felt they should or should not know. They had a historically colonial relationship to Blacks in America, including their Black students (regardless of the varying national identities of the students) who are the country's

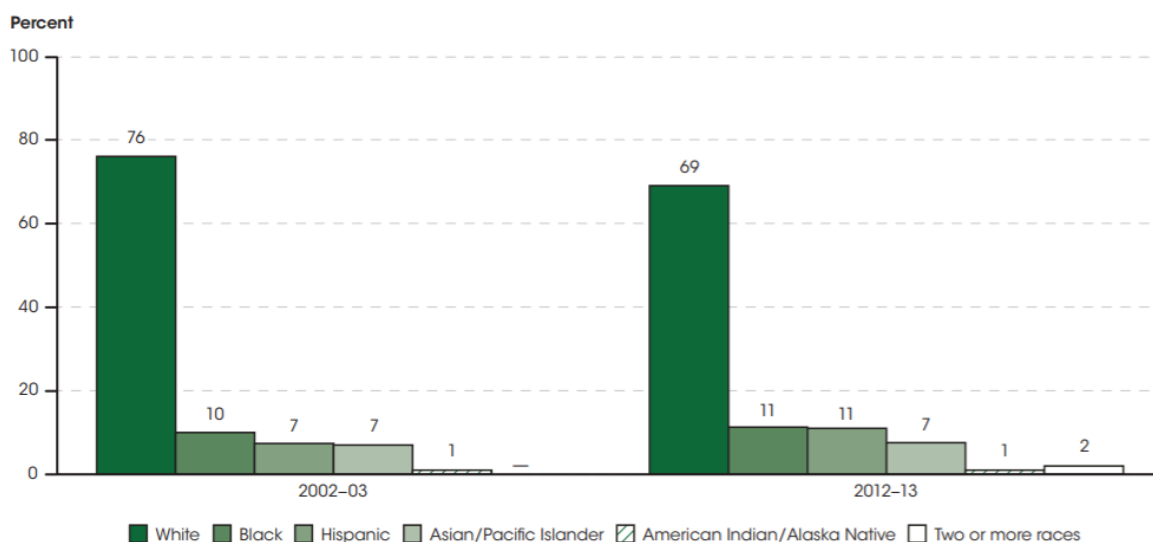
“internal others.” These were also mostly impoverished Black students whose parents simply did not have a lot of power, cultural capital, or options for their children’s education. The teachers and administrators were operating in a White privilege positionality, a privilege that allowed them to impose their nationalistic-entrenched western values upon the students through a curriculum that they controlled. It was a curriculum that centered their own cultural experience and viewpoints as opposed to their students.

This explains the White administrator’s and teacher’s reaction to my “Samba, Soul and Civil Rights” curriculum—a music education curriculum that certainly did not center on their cultural experience and viewpoints but centered on the cultural identities and experiences of my students, who reflected the breadth of the African diaspora. I wrote it for my Afro-descendant students as an Afro-descendant cultural insider (and culture bearer). The school’s coloniality manifested in their obvious concern about me, a Black person, teaching our Black students music that was connected to atrocities like slavery and protests that resulted in angry Southern White attacks on Blacks during the Civil Rights Movement, no matter how appropriate I made such lessons for elementary school learners. A culturally responsive music education for Black students must include the history of slavery and the civil rights movement because it is at the center of their experience. The school’s administrators and teachers wanted to protect their image in the eyes of our Black students, and in their own eyes. Discussions about slavery, resistance, and Black liberation offended them. Some of them even said ridiculous things, like in the case of the Afro Brazilian relationship to their Portuguese colonizers, that “there were wrongs on both sides.” (This is a direct quote from a third-grade teacher of Euro-Portuguese descent.) Of course, they were covert in expressing their discomfort. I previously gave the example that the Director of Curriculum and Instruction only wanted me to teach performance and western music notation, which was the institution’s way of silencing my voice in the lives of our students.

She also implied that I was not qualified to integrate subjects like history and culture into my instruction because I was a music teacher—in complete disrespect not only to my undergraduate and graduate course work, but to my position as an African American culture bearer. They also employed Black tokenism, in the person of the Black Dean, to express their discomfort. Although they never said this to me directly, in a later written response to a discrimination complaint that I filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the Black dean said they were concerned that I was “teaching from a tone of hate.” The constant and abnormal observations were also a manifestation of not only their covert racism, but a concern that my instruction on Black history was disrupting their image with the students—an image in line with the idea that George Washington the slave owner was a “good guy.” It is this discomfort with African American history (i.e., the unsanitized version of American history) that influenced their decisions about what to teach the children, and that influenced their reactions to my instruction. In other institutions where I have taught, where there were more Black teachers and Black administrators, these kinds of issues are non-existent. There is no discomfort in teaching and talking about the truth of Black history, especially the subject of slavery, as it relates to any subject area. My African American principal at JC Nalle Elementary, where I taught from 2014 to 2017, specifically requested that I include robust African American cultural and historical content in my music instruction. I observed this kind of attitude at every school where I have taught that had Black administrators and large numbers of Black teachers. The situation that I described at the White-led, White-majority Charter School was a glaring case of educational coloniality, and the entire story of this charter school points to larger issues in Black music education. It reflects a micro-level example coloniality of music education that reveals how these issues play out at the macro level.

In the United States, the majority of people who receive collegiate level degrees in education and music education are White. The majority of the decision makers and creators of educational curricula, including music education curricula are White. These statistics are simply reflective of the population demographics of the United States: 72 percent of the population is White. Only 13 percent is African American. According to the US Department of Education, in 2012-2013 African Americans receive only 11 percent of bachelor's degrees, 13 percent of master's degrees, and 8 percent of doctor's degrees. Compare this to educational statistics for Whites, who in 2012-2013 received 69 percent of the bachelor's degrees, 69 percent of master's degrees and 72 percent of the doctor's degrees. This positionality of the corpus of music educators and upper level decision makers in the United States reflects the values held high and information presented in music education curricula. This data is a glaring and telling statistic in terms of who is leading education in this country. In 2012-13, out of the roughly thirty million African Americans in the United States, only a little over 12,000 received a doctor's degree. A little over 110,000 White Americans received doctor's degrees that same year.

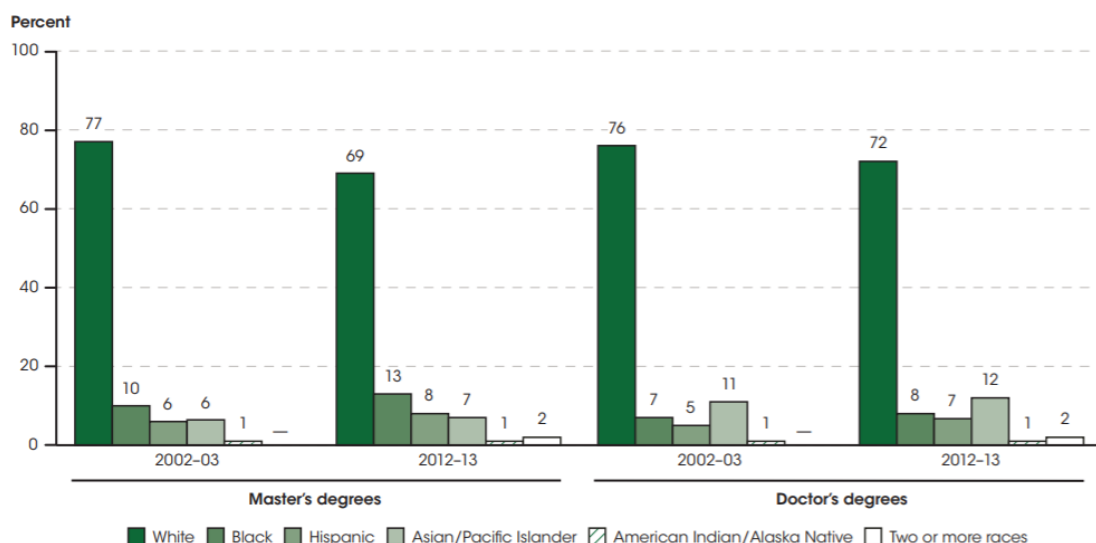
Figure 22.2. Percentage distribution of bachelor's degrees conferred to U.S. citizens by degree-granting postsecondary institutions, by race/ethnicity: Academic years 2002-03 and 2012-13



— Not available.

NOTE: Data are for postsecondary institutions participating in Title IV federal financial aid programs. Race categories exclude persons of Hispanic ethnicity. Separate data on students of Two or more races not collected until 2010-11. Detail may not sum to 100 because of rounding.
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Fall 2003 and Fall 2013, Completions component. See *Digest of Education Statistics 2014*, table 322.20.

Figure 22.4. Percentage distribution of master's and doctor's degrees conferred to U.S. citizens by degree-granting postsecondary institutions, by race/ethnicity: Academic years 2002-03 and 2012-13



— Not available.

NOTE: Data are for postsecondary institutions participating in Title IV federal financial aid programs. Doctor's degrees includes Ph.D., Ed.D., and comparable degrees at the doctoral level. Includes most degrees formerly classified as first-professional, such as M.D., D.D.S., and law degrees. Race categories exclude persons of Hispanic ethnicity. Separate data on students of Two or more races not collected until 2010-11. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding.
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Fall 2003 and Fall 2013, Completions component. See *Digest of Education Statistics 2014*, tables 323.20 and 324.20.

Fig. 2.2 Racial demographic of US citizens who receive bachelor's, master's or doctor's degrees in 2012-13.
Status of Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups, US Department of Education, 2016-17

Table 22.1. Number of degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions and percent change, by race/ethnicity and level of degree: Academic years 2002–03, 2011–12, and 2012–13

Level of degree and academic year	Total ¹	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Islander	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Two or more races
Certificates²							
2002–03	646,425	382,289	120,582	95,499	32,981	8,117	—
2011–12	989,061	535,621	190,253	187,014	43,048	10,638	14,140
2012–13	966,084	523,334	176,700	186,029	44,357	10,813	17,635
Percent change from 2002–03 to 2012–13	49.5	36.9	46.5	94.8	34.5	33.2	—
Percent change from 2011–12 to 2012–13	-2.3	-2.3	-7.1	-0.5	3.0	1.6	24.7
Associate's							
2002–03	634,016	438,261	75,609	66,673	32,629	7,461	—
2011–12	1,021,718	635,755	142,512	151,807	48,861	10,738	14,858
2012–13	1,006,961	616,990	135,777	157,966	49,456	10,540	19,402
Percent change from 2002–03 to 2012–13	58.8	40.8	79.6	136.9	51.6	41.3	—
Percent change from 2011–12 to 2012–13	-1.4	-3.0	-4.7	4.1	1.2	-1.8	30.6
Bachelor's							
2002–03	1,348,811	994,616	124,253	89,029	87,964	9,875	—
2011–12	1,792,163	1,212,417	185,916	169,736	126,177	11,498	27,234
2012–13	1,840,164	1,221,576	191,180	186,650	130,144	11,445	34,338
Percent change from 2002–03 to 2012–13	36.4	22.8	53.9	109.7	48.0	15.9	—
Percent change from 2011–12 to 2012–13	2.7	0.8	2.8	10.0	3.1	-0.5	26.1
Master's							
2002–03	518,699	346,003	45,150	25,200	27,492	2,886	—
2011–12	755,967	470,822	86,007	50,994	45,379	3,681	9,823
2012–13	751,751	455,892	87,988	52,990	44,912	3,697	11,839
Percent change from 2002–03 to 2012–13	44.9	31.8	94.9	110.3	63.4	28.1	—
Percent change from 2011–12 to 2012–13	-0.6	-3.2	2.3	3.9	-1.0	0.4	20.5
Doctor's³							
2002–03	121,579	82,549	7,537	5,503	12,008	759	—
2011–12	170,217	109,365	11,794	9,223	17,896	915	1,571
2012–13	175,038	110,775	12,084	10,107	18,408	900	2,438
Percent change from 2002–03 to 2012–13	44.0	34.2	60.3	83.7	53.3	18.6	—
Percent change from 2011–12 to 2012–13	2.8	1.3	2.5	9.6	2.9	-1.6	55.2

— Not available.

¹ Total includes students of Two or more races and nonresident aliens.

² Includes less-than-1-year awards and 1- to less-than-4-year awards (excluding associate's degrees).

³ Includes Ph.D., Ed.D., and comparable degrees at the doctoral level. Includes most degrees formerly classified as first-professional, such as M.D., D.D.S., and law degrees.

NOTE: Data are for postsecondary institutions participating in Title IV federal financial aid programs. Separate data on students of Two or more races not collected until 2010–11. Race categories exclude persons of Hispanic ethnicity. Reported racial/ethnic distributions of students by level of degree and sex were used to estimate race/ethnicity for students whose race/ethnicity was not reported.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Fall 2003, Fall 2012, and Fall 2013, Completions component. See *Digest of Education Statistics 2014*, tables 320.20, 321.20, 322.20, 323.20, and 324.20.

Fig. 2.3 Highlighted in yellow, number of whites compared to number of blacks who receive bachelor's, master's and doctor's degrees in 2012-13. Status of Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups, US Department of Education, 2016

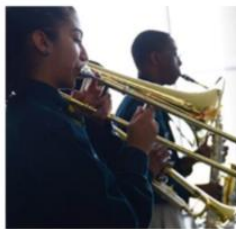
In New York State and Washington DC, where I have taught, there is no standardized music curriculum. There are, however, state arts standards and National Arts Standards that reflect the Eurocentric expectations regarding the instruction that music educators are charged to deliver.



Fig. 2.4 Cover page of the New York State standards for Music reflects a Eurocentric Western approach to music education.



Fig. 2.5 Photos from the arts page of the District of Columbia Public School's website. The photo of students playing the keyboard is a part of a "DC Keys" curriculum, which is uses an entirely Eurocentric approach to music education.



Contact Information

Maggie White, Deputy Chief, Arts, Global Education, Health and Physical Education
 Mary Lambert, Director, Arts
 Margaret Meenehan, Director, Fillmore Arts
 Lindsey Vance, Manager, Visual and Digital Arts
 James Mitaritonna, Manager, Music

Both figures 3.4 and 3.5 illustrate that both states place the highest value on teaching students how to read, write, and play western notation and pieces from the Western classical music continuum. There is nothing that reflects a value placed on the traditional music-culture of African America.

The results of Eurocentric, non-culturally responsive music (and general) instruction have devastating, and even heartbreaking, results on African American children. It teaches them White bias and Black hatred. Through my experience I have observed that most African American children feel alienated from themselves, and many have internalized a negative view of themselves as Black people. This cannot entirely be attributed to a Eurocentric curriculum and is absolutely also due to the impact of American visual culture that presents Whiteness as a superior norm. However, public schools are funded by public tax dollars and

should serve all the students who attend them. Not just one group. First, my own anecdotal evidence.

I have seen African American students tease each other mercilessly with insults about their physical features. This was particularly prevalent in a contained special education classroom at the Jackie Robinson Elementary School in Laurelton Queens, where I taught in 2002. The students called each other names like “big nose,” “Black,” and “nappy headed,” or any combination of these mixed in with other words as insults. In some school settings, I have observed my African American students react negatively to images of people from Africa who look physically similar to them. When teaching about the Music of the Mali Empire at JC Nalle Elementary in 2014, I showed a third-grade class an image of a Manding woman. A boy in the class looked very much like her—the same color and with the same facial features. When I pointed this out, he became visibly upset and denied his resemblance to her vehemently. During an assembly that year that included a demonstration of West African dance, an entire school of African American students (and unfortunately even the teachers) laughed at the dancers’ movements. They did not recognize the Africanity of their own vernacular dance and how similar their own movements (to gogo music specifically) were to the dancers. These are just a few examples of the alienation that African American students feel towards themselves and their African culture. I cannot even begin to explain the prevalence of students using the N word as a degrading insult against each other.

As further proof of the damage caused in African American students by Eurocentric curricula, Dr. William “Bill” Cosby, who received his doctorate in education, did a very telling documentary called *Black History: Lost, Stolen and Strayed* (1968). At the beginning he demonstrated the ubiquitous erasure in US educational text books of African American contributions to the United States. The film also shared the research of a child psychologist, Dr. Emmanuel Hamer, who analyzed drawings by Black children of themselves and of White

people. He shared that the drawings of themselves, which were missing arms and faces and lacked detail, revealed that they viewed themselves as powerless, inferior and not important. He compared these to their drawings of Whites, which were well formed and detailed, and determined that they felt that Whites were superior to themselves. He also compared the Black children's self-portraits, which were often unformed and armless drawings to the well-developed and detailed self-portraits by White children. He determined that the White



Fig. 2.6A Self Portraits by white children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer on *Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed* (1968).

children's drawings revealed that they felt more secure about themselves and their world, and did not suffer from the same self-depreciation as Black children. Furthermore, he shared that "no matter what a child draws, he's really picturing himself . . . ask a secure White child to draw a tree and he is likely to draw a bountiful spreading tree." He made the observation that trees drawn by White children were bountiful and detailed, which indicated that they had high self-esteem and a secure positive outlook on the world. When he compared these to drawings of trees by Black children, which were "cut off in their growth, stark and bare" that this demonstrated the child's "insecure outlook and sense of self."



Fig. 2.6B Armless self-portraits by black children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer on *Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed* (1968).

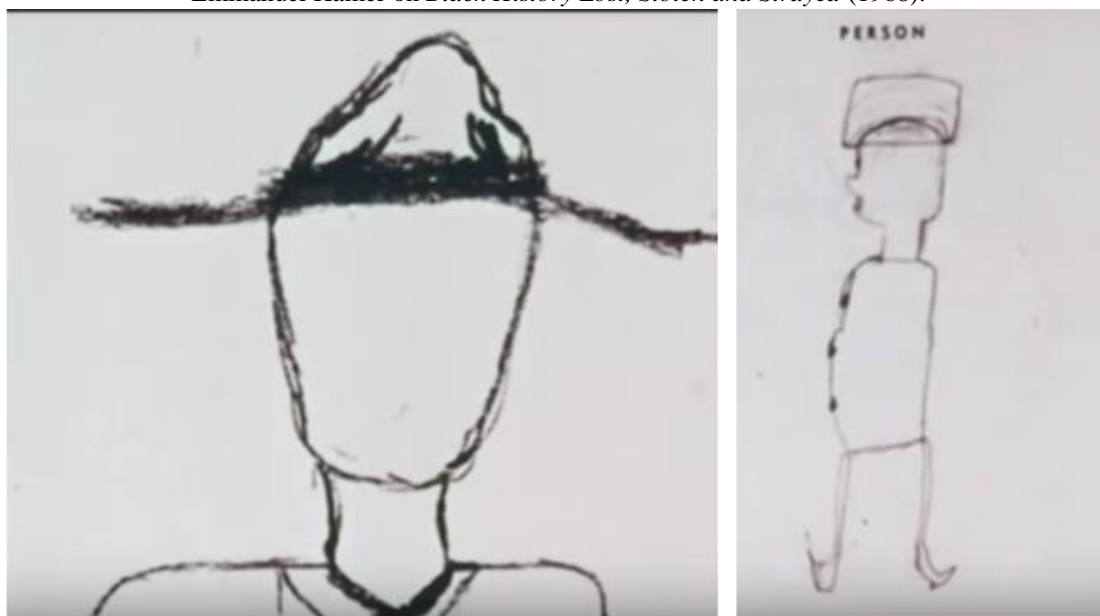


Fig. 2.6C Faceless self-portraits by black children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer on *Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed* (1968).

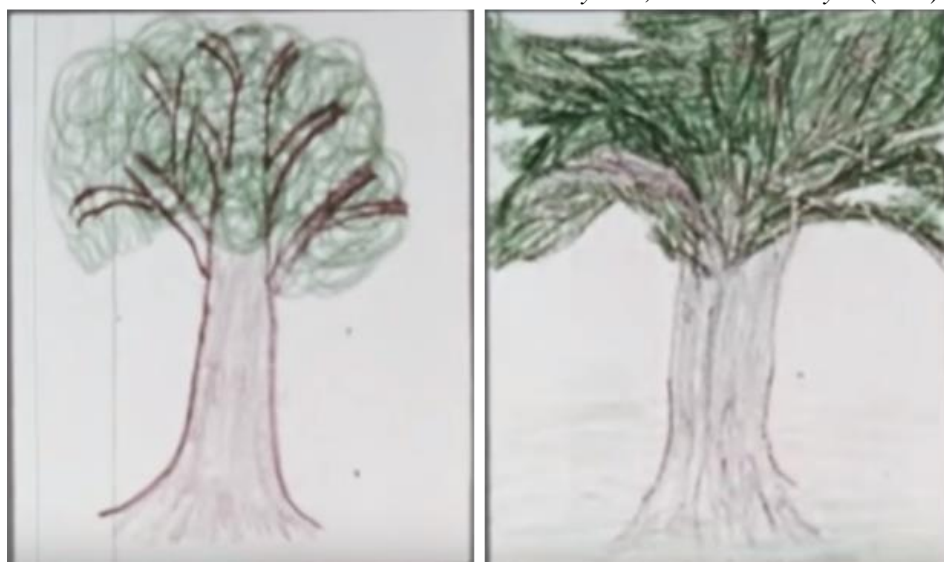


Fig. 2.6D Drawings of trees by white children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer on *Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed* (1968).



Fig. 2.6E Drawings of trees by black children analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer on *Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed* (1968).



Fig. 2.6F Black nine-year old's drawing of a white man (left) and himself (right) analyzed by Dr. Emmanuel Hamer on *Black History Lost, Stolen and Strayed* (1968).

In 2010 CNN commissioned renowned child psychologist and University of Chicago professor Margaret Beale Spencer, a leading researcher in the field of child development, to create tests similar to the Clarke's 1947 doll tests to assess elementary school aged children on racial biases. The test concluded that both Black and White Children have a bias that privileges whiteness (Billante and Hadad, 2010). Judging from the disturbing disparity of the 1968 drawings and the 2010 CNN doll tests,



Fig. 2.7 CNN Commissioned Pilot Study to Assess Racial Bias in Children (2010)

African American children are in educational crisis. While many things can be done in US education to serve them, the concern of this thesis is how music education can best address some of these alarming disparities through culturally responsive methods that draw upon ethnomusicology. My vision for solutions for African American education first involves referencing my own success with an ethnomusicologically informed culturally responsive music program at JC Nalle Elementary, which had a population of one hundred percent African American students. My inclusion of Black history films like *Night John* and *Roots* drew my students into the instruction. Teaching them about the music of the Empire of Mali and other music instruction connected to various African cultures and African America transformed their sense of self. They became strong in their Black identity and proud of their African roots. Also, an ancillary affect was increased reading and math scores.

My vision for solutions for African American education first involves referencing a federally funded culturally restorative program for Native American children. This program, based in Omaha, Nebraska, introduces Native American elementary school students to their

traditional arts. If the federal government can pass legislation to fund such programs for Native American children as a reparative measure to correct previous laws that made practicing and teaching Native American culture illegal, then legislation should be passed to do the same for African American children. Included in this legislation should be a federal mandate that requires each state to include in their teacher training programs and certification requirements culturally responsive instructional methods for African American children. This should especially be the case in states with school systems that serve high populations of Black children. Teachers in training should be required to take course work in the culture and history of Africa and African America (and other underrepresented minorities). This law should also require teachers to engage in twice yearly professional development training (beginning and mid-school year) that instructs them on culturally responsive education instructional methods that are specific to African American students, and that are specific to the subject areas that they teach. Music education teachers in training should be required to take course work in African American and African musics. Music teachers in school districts with high populations of African American students should be required to earn a special certificate in Black American music, language, and culture. In these school districts a specialist should be on staff at each school to provide teachers with ongoing professional developments and guidance in instruction and curriculum development that is specifically designed for African American students.

Finally, it is my position that African American history and culture, in addition to methods of instruction that are traditional to African American culture, should be at the center of instruction for African American children. To understand how this can be accomplished here in the United States, I conducted a field study at Moten Elementary School in Washington DC to analyze the work of music educator Allyson Chamberlain. I will also

discuss my 2017 field study in Botswana which explored how traditional music is used to teach to primary school students their Setswana cultural/national identity.

Chapter 3: Strategies in Culturally Responsive African American Music Education: A Case Study

In the spring of 2018, I conducted a field study at Lucy Moten Elementary School in Allyson Chamberlain's classroom, a music educator with District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS). I observed her teach a large fourth-grade class over eight consecutive weeks, conducted extensive interviews with Chamberlain, and functioned as a participant observer by helping to co-teach a lesson to her students. This case study was ideal for studying the application of an ethnomusicology infused culturally responsive music education because the student population is homogenously African American, as are most of the teachers and staff. Until recently, Washington DC was a city with the highest population of African Americans in the country. (Detroit, Michigan now has the highest Black population.) Moten Elementary School is located in the Anacostia section of Southeast Washington DC, which is currently where the largest concentration of African Americans live in the city. I would also argue that this area might be one of the most African American areas in the United States, outside of certain counties in the more southernly states. There are many reasons for this, including historic housing discrimination that relegated the Black population of the city to an area known as "east of the park," meaning the eastern side of Rock Creek Park. After legal housing segregation was outlawed in the late 1960s, a de facto kind of racial segregation remained in place because of the extremely high real estate prices and rents "west of the park." Moten Elementary is not only located "east of the park," but is also in an area that is known as "east of the river," or east of the Anacostia river, which is a very isolated part of

1997 Washington, D.C. Population Breakdown

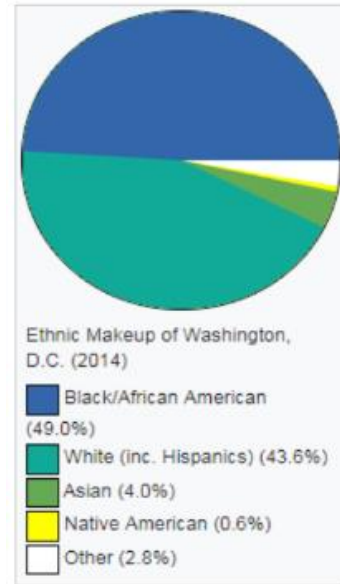
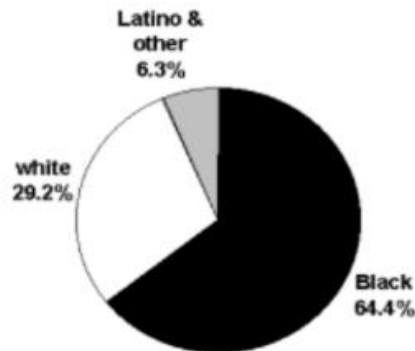
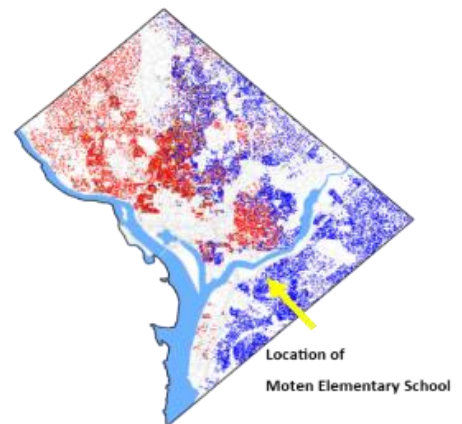


Fig. 3

Fig. 3.1 Racial Demographic Maps of Washington DC (Wikipedia)



Black	49.0%
White (includes White Hispanics)	43.6%
Asian	3.0%
Other	1.4%
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	4.0%

Race and Ethnicity In Wash. DC 2014

DC that has high poverty rates, receives very few services, and, historically, has been predominantly African American. Regardless of the historical circumstance, or of the injustices that have created such homogenous Black communities, they exist. Therefore, a culturally responsive music education, and education generally, for these African American students is wholly appropriate.

Allyson Chamberlain is an African American music educator who uses this approach in her classroom. During and after my observations, I was able to elucidate four different successful strategies employed by Chamberlain. 1) The use of African American cultural orality in her vocal instruction; 2) Using West African-based integrated artistic disciplines like singing, dancing, and acting, and engaging African American music-dance culture in musical theater instruction; 3.) Teaching African heritage using organological instruction; and 4) Instructional methodology based in African American kinetic orality. I will also offer an analysis of the student response to the lesson that I taught about the Mali Empire and Sundiata Keita, the founder of the empire.

Thick Description

On Tuesday April 24, 2018, I walk into the lower entrance of Moten Elementary School. It is a little before 9:00 am and the dawning of a fresh new school day. The security personnel greet me with a friendly hello and wave me upstairs. The school is a large brick structure, with a newly remodeled interior finish. As I approach the main foyer, I notice paintings of Black leaders. There is one painting that catches my attention: Dr. Martin Luther King, President Obama, Nelson Mandela, and Frederick Douglass are walking with arms linked, leading a protest. This is Moten Elementary's presentation to its students of the Black founding fathers. I believe the historic Frederick Douglas house is in the same neighborhood as the school. Photos of Black history figures loom large on colorful bulletin boards. These are the same images I grew up with: Rosa Parks, Harriet Tubman, Thurgood Marshall, Mary Mcleod Bethune. Dr. King's photo has been placed at the very top, a visual indicator of his continued posthumous leadership of Black America. A tall African American man is standing in front to Mrs. Chamberlain's music room door with a group of talkative children, all standing in line. The students are mostly girls with a few boys, most are my height (5'1"), with a few being a little shorter and a few a little taller. They are wearing uniforms: light blue button-down shirts and navy slacks. Some of them have sneakers on. The girls and boys are a range of browns. Some have freckles, some wear glasses. The boys have short haircuts—a few are wearing curly mohawks. The girls are wearing a whole range of hairstyles. Many have cornrows, which are geometrical patterns of braids that are woven close to the scalp. Some are wearing dreadlocks loose, in pony tails and with ribbons. A few have large round "afro puffs." To me, they are all adorable. As soon as they see me, many say "hello Mrs. Cunningham." A few give me a hug. When Mrs. Chamberlain arrives she asks the students in choir to step out of the line to the backdrop noise of the bell ringing in the office, the distant talking of other students in another class, and staff greeting Mrs. Chamberlain and wishing her a happy birthday. The students file into the room, talking excitedly. Some are teasing each other. I hear one boy saying to a girl "You fat!" She answers back "I'm not fat your mother is!" The students settle into their seats, which are arranged in an oblong circle in the middle of the room. Just chairs, not desks. Mrs. Chamberlain instructs them to get their folders and complete a "do no" in five minutes. I sit

in a seat in the back of the room, outside of the circle and in front of a tall, shiny Black upright piano. A few say they don't have their folders, and then they are instructed by Mrs. Chamberlain to get an alternative. One student asks to go to the bathroom. The "do now" is a note identification of the five-lined treble clef staff; this exercise is designed to reinforce the student's knowledge of the note names. The students talk quietly among themselves while they complete the activity. I hear a few reciting the common mnemonic device "Every Good Boy Does Fine" and another I have never heard, "Elephants Got Big Dirty Feet." I suppose that one is Mrs. Chamberlain's own. After sternly correcting a student for something, eventually Mrs. Chamberlain starts the lesson. The issue that Mrs. Chamberlain was correcting becomes apparent when a boy yells at a girl "Chicken head ass! Bitch head ass!" "Your fat homebody ass!" He is sent out of the room, but his words cause smaller arguments to break out all over the room. Mrs. Chamberlain interrupts by asking them to put away their folders "in ten seconds" and begins the instruction of the day after she counts down to 0. The entire time, several students are engaged in conversations with each other. Someone's cell phone goes off. After getting the class's attention, she starts a video made by the Kennedy Center that features a traditional West African percussionist. She then stops the video and speaks in firm tones for the class to be quiet. She says "You need to act like you are in a classroom, not as if you are in the street talking to your friends. Shut your mouth and pay attention to the video!" The students continue to talk to each other a little, even after Mrs. Chamberlain's directive. As the speaker demonstrated how to play the various tones of the cajon and djembe, most of the students seemed to give the speaker in the video their complete attention.

African American Orality in the Black Power Classroom

During my time in Ms. Chamberlain's classroom I observed her use African American orality as a very powerful method of teaching her students vocal music. Orality can be defined in many ways. African American orality can refer to the use or presence of Black sound culture, and/or the oral transmission of music, and is almost always compared to the use of written text in European/Euro-American music-culture. Employing African American orality to teach African American children songs and singing is culturally responsive instructional methodology. This is the very approach that Dr. Janice E. Hale proposes in two chapters of her book *Unbank Fire* (1994). Dr. Hale dedicated her career to improving the education of African American children as a Professor of Early Childhood Education at Wayne State University and Founding Director of the Institute for the Study of the African American Child (ISAAC). Hale makes the point that traditional African American learning styles center upon orality. To prove this point, she compared the worship styles of a predominantly Anglo Episcopalian denomination with her own African American Baptist

church experience. In the former, all components of the service are written: prayers are read from a prayer book and hymns are read a hymn book. In Black Baptist churches (and many other historically Black Christian denominations) prayers are spoken extemporaneously and songs are performed from memory. This stems from the earliest form of African American Christianity that was connected to the Hush Harbor tradition from slavery times: secret religious meetings held in the woods at night. Hale says that “a child who worships regularly in an Anglocentric church grows up accustomed to seeing a significant portion of his experience expressed in print. The African American child grows up observing the expressive oral styles of his community” (ibid.:9). This is not to imply that orality is unique only to African and African American cultures. Both Korean drumming or Balinese kebyar traditions rely on orality for transmission and performance. However, African derived orality does involve an improvisatory element that is unique. I should also say that this discussion about African orality is important because using it as a basis for culturally responsive music education for Black American children runs against the written practices that have become particularly dominant in US mainstream culture. That being said, I must discuss the origin of orality in Chamberlain’s African American experience. Allyson Chamberlain was raised in the Church of God In Christ (which I will hence forth refer to as COGIC). This is a denomination that is not only African American, but also has a tremendous vocal tradition that is based in Black orality. Many of the most well-known Gospel singers come out of the COGIC denomination—The Clark Sisters, Kim Burrell, Donnie McClurkin, and many others. Chamberlain was entrenched in COGIC music-culture from her early childhood into her present adult years. She directs the choir at her church in Annapolis, and shared with me during one of our interviews that she learned everything that she knows about group vocal harmony from her upbringing in COGIC choirs. During my own childhood, I was a part of a children’s choir at an African American catholic church in Washington DC called St. Theresa

of Avila. Following the family ethos in African derived cultures, we called the director “Uncle Toby,” who taught us all songs using an aural repetition method. He sang the melody and all of the parts, while playing the keyboard, and we repeated each line after him, committing the music to memory. No written music was involved. Chamberlain teaches her students using these same methods: those that she and I both experienced while growing up in the Black church. I would make the argument that this orality employed in the classroom is *African American habitus*. Moore helps to define *habitus* by stating that “a society’s members draw upon sets of generative schemes . . . these schemes are the products of historical antecedents” (Moore 2012: 300). Bourdieu explains that “*Habitus* has ‘an endless capacity to engender products—thoughts, expressions, actions—whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production” (Bourdieu 1977: 95).

All of Chamberlain’s instruction was based in African American orality. I observed her teaching songs using the oral method. She also taught *djembe* drum patterns to students in this way. She only taught a cursory and obligatory lesson on Western music notation for her TAS Goals (Teacher-Assessed Student Achievement Data). TAS Goals are a mandated assessment that DCPS teachers must use to prove the effectiveness of their instruction. They have to administer a test to their students that measures a specific learning goal, like Chamberlain’s fourth grader’s ability to identify the names of the lines on the treble clef staff. Although performance-based TAS goals are available, because of the structure of the assessment, testing on Western music notation is simply easier to measure. Even in this, however, I would argue that Chamberlain applied a kind of African American orality in her teaching the five lined staff with the tremble clef. Instead of the standard “Every Good Boy Does Fine” mnemonic device, Chamberlain chose to use more colloquial African American grammatical patterns with “Elephants Got Big Dirty Feet,” substituting the verb “to have” with “got,” as in “you got one more chance.” (This parallels the omission of the verb “to be,”

which is Niger-Congo grammatical retention in African American Vernacular English.) I observed her students easily reciting this mnemonic to write the note names of the staff on a quiz at the beginning of one class. Chamberlain also often used the intonations and speech cues of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) when speaking with her students, which they also employed in their everyday conversations. It seemed that Chamberlain's language increased her students' comfort level and made the concepts that she was teaching more easily transmittable—African American orality.

Using African American Music-Dance Culture in Musical Theater Instruction

Chamberlain's year with her fourth graders culminated in the performance of the well-known musical *The Wiz*. There are several factors in Chamberlain's musical theatre instruction that made it effective culturally responsive education for her students. The first factor is that *The Wiz* is a musical that is congruent with the West African integrated approach to the arts. During my fieldwork in Ghana, a Ghanaian ethnomusicologist, Dr. Kofi Gbolonyo, reported that many West African societies' and cultures' vocal music (song), instrumental music (especially drumming), and dance, which often includes theatrical elements, are closely linked, and not seen as separate disciplines as is often the case in Western cultures (interview, July 2016). This is also true for African American pop and folk culture. Vernacular dances are almost always linked to popular song. Popular artists who sing often introduce and popularize dances, dances which derive from Black urban culture—i.e., Michael Jackson's moonwalk, which was known in the streets of Brooklyn in the 1980s as the "back step." Another example is the Buzzard Lope, which is both a song and dance that was widely performed by African Americans in the low country of South Carolina in the early part of the twentieth century. A more recent example is the "Chicken Noodle Soup" song and dance that was popular amongst New York City's Black teens in the mid-2000s.

Also, to mention the numerous Black American line dances with corresponding songs alone, from the now timeless Electric Slide which dawned in the late 1980s to the “Cupid Shuffle” of the 2000s is enough proof towards this point. Gaunt shares this about Black American dance.

In Black cultures, dances are acquired as a kind of cultural capital...parallels exist between a Black popular social dance and the song lyrics about it (for example, “the Twist,” performed by Chubby Checker)...These parallels are important because words that describe movement in conjunction with those gestures (i.e. onomatopoeia of the body demonstrate the critical synthesis within kinetic orality.) (2006: 103).

In Washington DC’s Black vernacular culture, go-go music has traditionally reigned supreme as a local illustration of how Black music-dance culture operates, as described by Gaunt, and how it operates in the lives of Chamberlain’s students, many whose daily lives are entrenched in go-go music-culture. Historically, many originally composed go-go songs are songs that have introduced specific vernacular dances. I witnessed go-go’s 1980s “hee-haw” song and dance craze swoop through the area, to the point where it penetrated into elementary schools in suburban Maryland. (There were two versions of this dance. For the first one, the dancer bends and bobs the knees to the upbeats of the song, which correspond with the musician’s slaps on the congas and roto tom drums, while alternatively extending both the arms out, with the pointer fingers extending out and thumbs up. To do the second version of the “hee haw,” the arms and hands alternatively swerve around the head, while the legs step up and down in a turned-out kind of position, still in step with the roto-tom’s and conga’s upbeats.) Needless to say, such dances are “caught rather than taught,” in the words of Hale in “The Transmission of Cultural Values to African American Children” (1994: 145)—the dances must be learned through observation and practice. They cannot be “taught.”

The seamless relationship between music and movement in Black American culture makes musical theatre, especially an African American musical like *The Wiz*, a very fluid culturally responsive music educational tool. Chamberlain, along with her students, created

the choreography for the songs. Her students often included popular dances in their movements. At the performance, I noticed that each time one would perform one of these dances, like the “crazy legs” that comes from the popular song “Ney Ney,” the audience would strongly react with “yeahs” or “uh-oh!” and other exclamatory responses. These Black vernacular movements served as an intertextual reference for the children, who were able to connect culturally to the performance, and for the audience, that was comprised of the students' parents and family members.

Chamberlain also made her vocal instruction for the musical culturally relevant. She used the same oral methods employed in her COGIC denomination to teach solo and ensemble songs. She also taught her students to sing in the gospel tradition, and they shined. Each riff or vocal effect also served as an intertextual reference for the students and the audience of parents: again, *African American habitus*. The gospel singing and the audience's reactions went according to the African American church tradition, complete with responses like “Mmmm,” “Yeah!,” “Tell the truth!,” “Sing it girl!,” “Sing it boy!,” or just “Sing it!” This is *African American habitus* because such responses are almost ubiquitous in long standing Black church traditions, which are common in all regions of African America.

Teaching African Heritage Using Organological Instruction

Another major component in Ms. Chamberlain's culturally responsive music education paradigm is her use of organological instruction with African instruments, namingly the *djembe* drum. Chamberlain used several videos that were produced by the Kennedy Center that explained the symbolism in the *djembe* drum's construction, as well as the history of the instrument, as an entry point into instruction about the history of the Mali Empire. The video captured their complete attention. Below are my field notes from this lesson.

As the video progresses, the speaker gives information about the Mali Empire and how the djembe was played for the king of Mali. As he explained that the king used the djembe as a communication device to announce his arrival, all of the students became extremely quiet and completely focused on the video. When the drummer demonstrated the djembe rhythm called “the king is coming,” all students had their eyes glued to the video. Not a peep of noise was in the room except for the speaker’s voice. The speaker demonstrated how the djembe was made, with a goat skin top. This invoked quiet exclamations from the students like “Ooh that’s gross.” He explained how the shape of the djembe, and that it is made with wood, symbolized the family tree in African culture, stressing how the lower part represents the roots, which is comparable to ancestors. He said that the top represents the fruit of the tree, the children of the family. Mrs. Chamberlain stopped the video and used the family tree concept to lead into a class discussion. The first remarks from the students were ‘goat skin?...’ Mrs. Chamberlain asked them ‘what did the tree represent in African culture? Winnie.’ Winnie answered, “the family.” Mrs. Chamberlain “which way, which part? Cheyenne.” Cheyenne answered, “the roots represent the ancestors.” Cheyenne explained further the family metaphor. Mrs. Chamberlain continued to ask her students questions that would allow her to assess if they understood the information given in the video. She then asks the students to apply the family tree metaphor to their own lives. While some students were answering the questions, some got into little verbal spats with each other. At the end the students identified which of their relatives are their ‘roots’ and themselves as the ‘fruit’ of the tree. They said that their ancestors were their roots, naming their grandparents and family. Some explained ancestors as “the elderly that passed away.” Mrs. Chamberlain asked them what the roots of their family tree mean to them specifically. They said that they should respect their ancestors. They said that ‘being bad’ means dishonoring their ancestors. One of the students remarked that they are spanked by their ancestors. Students laughed out loud at this comment. Finally, Mrs. Chamberlain asked “What happens if the root doesn’t exist?” The students responded, “then you don’t exist!” After the discussion, Mrs. Chamberlain led the class in learning the three different tones of the djembe drum. They have a huge class set of drums.

In my view this lesson embodied the Black Power classroom in full effect because it taught students about their African heritage and elucidated values that are a part of traditional African American identity. First, the hard-core information about the Mali Empire, which was a successor kingdom of the Ghana empire, and a preceding kingdom of the Songhai Empire, is *the* historical story of most of West Africa. Chamberlain’s use of the *djembe* drum, which comes from the Mali Empire, to teach about Old Mali was tangible evidence for her nine- and ten-year-olds of a rich history of Africa, and therefore African Americans, which counters the pervasive American media distortions about the African past of Black Americans discussed in Chapter One.

The lesson also taught students about the common and widely held African and African American value of ancestry, lineage, and elders as a foundation or “root” of the community and of individual Black selves. This value and absolute respect for elders is widespread in many African societies. In my own African American cultural experience, I was raised with the idea that all elders must be addressed with absolute respect using titles like aunt, uncle, Mr., Mrs. and, in some church settings, Mother so and so, brother, sister, and in some cases deacon or elder. Even though this is my own cultural experience, I did not realize the prevalence of this value, the reverence for ancestors, or understand it as a collective Africanism (as opposed to a familial or relational one) until one particular experience. At the televised opening of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, every single speaker, from John Lewis to Michelle Obama, continually spoke of the sacrifices of African American ancestors. Each speaker spoke of how much the museum “honored our ancestors.” In fact, the African American national identity is largely constructed of posthumous touchstone figures or ancestors, especially those who led resistance against slavery and colonialism, who loom large in the group’s collective history. Black history, and therefore Black identity, is based on reverence, as well as on the celebration of the accomplishments of liberationist ethos/activities of figures like Harriet Tubman, W.E.B. Dubois, Carter G. Woodson, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and many others. Such reverence for collective ancestors, as well as grandparents and great grandparents in individual Black families, which includes “family tree” or lineage research like Alex Haley’s *Roots*, embodies not only the national identity of African Americans, but the *Africanity* of African Americans. Ms. Chamberlain’s students learned about the importance of “roots” in the Black community, symbolized in the way the *djembe* drum is constructed. At the end of the lesson, Ms. Chamberlain asked her students to name African American ancestors. Many named Martin Luther King, Harriet Tubman, and others.

Teaching African History as African American Heritage: A Lesson on the Mali Empire and Sundiata Keita

During my field study at Moten Elementary School, I had the opportunity to act as a participant-observer by co-teaching one lesson with Ms. Chamberlain. I chose to build on Chamberlain's *djembe* drum lesson about the Mali Empire to teach her fourth graders about Sundiata Keita, the founder of the empire. I drew from my past experience in working with a fourth-grade class with similar demographics as the music teacher at a school called JC Nalle Elementary in the Marshall Heights section Southeast DC. I taught the students a song that I wrote called "Song of Sundiata" that contains in the lyrics the basic facts about Sundiata's life (extracted from Niane's 1961 translation of the Manding Jaliya song *Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali*). The structure of the song included many of what Turino defines as "general principles of African music," which was not necessarily intentional but flowed from my own musicality as a jazz musician and experience in Black American sound culture. The song especially employed the principle of "cyclical form and variation" with a repetition of the chorus "Sundiata, oh, Sundiata of Mali," and interlocking rhythms based on a 4+2 pattern in 6/4 time. They learned how to define the term empire and that Mali was wealthy because of its gold. After learning the song, I taught them about the African American connection to the Mali Empire that is illustrated through Alex Haley's ancestor, Kunta Kinte, who descends from the empire. I also shared how he was captured when he was in the woods making a *djembe*. After the lesson I interviewed the group using a semi-structured approach.

I asked, "What does the *djembe* mean to us now?" One student answers "It's legendary." Another student called out "It's our heritage!" Surprisingly, when I asked if they felt that Mali could be their personal roots, one student hesitantly said, "Maybe," while another student said, "Not me." I also asked, 'How does it make you feel to learn about these things? Did you know that there were African kings?' In response one student answered, "It

makes me feel kind of like special . . . cause it's like, he was like a king and it means a lot that he stands for all of us." Another student answered, "I kind of feel special to because it's a lot of kings in the world. We learn about kings in a lot of countries, but we never learn about African kings." Another student said, "I feel grateful about Kunta Kinte...because he got caught and lived during slavery times . . . and I'm grateful that I wasn't." I also asked, "Do you feel good about learning about this African empire?" The students who responded said "Yes!" and "Well, I just feel like I learned something new." I also asked, "How is the Mali empire connected to African Americans?" They responded by saying, "because they're Black!" and "because he was an African." One student said "It's practically . . . is like basically connected to Africa because we're all African."

I learned several things from my interview with the students. First, based on their responses, these African American fourth graders internalized the history of one of Africa's most famous empires as their own by learning just a few basic connections between African American and West African history. Also, learning about African kings and the specific history of African polities made an impact on them. They enjoyed the information. I also noticed how easily one student claimed her African identity. This is indicative of the group's comfort with identifying as African. In other past settings, I have heard students contest the label "African," with bold declarations like "I'm not an African!" or "I'm just American." I heard no such contestations among Mrs. Chamberlain's fourth graders.

The students' responses to this lesson, and the consequential expressions of pride in their African heritage demonstrate the power of using ethnomusicology in teaching Black American children their African heritage. The lesson segment that I prepared was based in my own research on Manding music that is associated not only with the Jali tradition but with music traditions like that of the *djembe* drum, associated with those not in the Nyamakala

class (Charry 2000). Both Chamberlain and I were able to instruct students about the history of the Mali Empire, and its connection to African Americans, because of our own research.

Two driving aims of this field study were to explore how the students' understanding of Africa influences their perception of African American culture and how learning lessons about African cultures influence this group's view of African American culture and their own self-perception. Teaching African American culture means teaching African history because it is an assumed part of African American national identity, especially in this post-Black Power Movement era.

When the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements rose to their pinnacle in the 1960s, most African-Americans were engaged in the decolonization process and the project of nation building, parallel to their sister nations across the Atlantic in Sub-Saharan Africa. This meant casting off European ideas of beauty but also reorienting Black identity within the context of its African roots, by first acknowledging the longstanding African retentions within Black American culture and adopting other African, and "African inspired," cultural traditions. This lesson on the *djembe*, the Mali Empire, and Sundiata Keita actually did not require "adoption" because it demonstrated through family lineage how the Mali Empire is indeed African American history.

Kinetic Orality in Culturally Responsive Music Education for African American Learners

I would argue that much of Chamberlain's music education instruction exemplifies Gaunt's theory of kinetic orality. Chamberlain's instruction shows how African American kinetic orality can be used in effective culturally responsive instruction for African American learners. I will discuss this in the context of three passages that explain this theory from Gaunt's 2006 book *The Games that Black Girls Play: Learning the Ropes from Double-Dutch to Hip-Hop*.

At an early age, therefore, Black girls learn to embody a “social process through which traditions [and identities] are elaborated and made perceptible” (Coplan 1994, 30). While orality tends to be the primary focus of discussions about the transmission of vernacular traditions and cultural identifications, it is a conjunction of orality and kinetics – what Cornel West calls “kinetic orality” – an underexamined phenomenon in studies of Black musical identity and performances. Through the practical activities of musical play, girls actually inhabit “in-body formulas” (Drewal 1992) that construct their consciousness of themselves as Black and female members of a subculture, in contradistinction to the traditions and privileges of the dominant culture, relative to race and gender (among other factors). (Ibid.: 59)

In other words, girls are telling stories through their embodied play: dramatizing the “infinite process of [African American and Black musical] identity construction”...by practicing and performing the mnemonic rituals of a kinetic orality. (Ibid.: 70)

By examining the musical activities and connections involved in the games Black girls play, we begin to appreciate how an African American or Black musical identity is repeatedly being socially constituted, subjectively embodied, and communally performed into being . . . (Ibid.)

With these passages by Gaunt I make this point: Gaunt demonstrates that African American cultural and musical identity is learned by Black girls, and by extension Black boys, through their experience in Black sound culture and through “in body formulas” or kinetic orality that constructs their consciousness of themselves. Essentially, through musical play, which is a part of Black kinetic orality, and in which sound and movement are fluid, African American children learn a musical Blackness. I contend that Chamberlain uses this culturally grounded kinetic orality in the structures of her music education program as a culturally responsive instructional methodology. This is evident in her musical theatre instruction, *djembe* instruction, and vocal ensemble teaching. Chamberlain allows students to draw from African American vernacular dance to create loose choreography for musical theatre numbers. She allows the “in body formulas” that her students absorb in their everyday cultural experiences to become central to their song learning and performance of songs. Gaunt also spends a lot of time discussing how hand-clap games teach Black girls (and by extension boys) the DNA, so to speak, of Black American Music. Essentially, games like “Ms. Mary Mack,” “Apple on a Stick,” and “Twi-li-li-li Twi Top” teach Black children African American rhythms, melodic

phrasing, and certainly cross-rhythms/poly rhythms, or interlocking rhythms, which Turino discusses in his general principles of African music. It is impossible to overemphasize that the play music of Black childhood is vocal and percussive. And the percussion is created with the body—individual hand claps, multi-partnered hand slaps, foot stomps, hip rolls, and other dance movements. Thus, when Chamberlain gives to her students instruction on the *djembe* drum, another percussive form, she is drawing on, or perhaps even drawing out, the kinetic orality of her students' culture, and channeling it to another instrument. Her students seemed to really enjoy the *djembe* lessons, and learned each pattern very quickly. This method of music instruction flowed with their culture-specific musicality.

Finally, the vocality that Chamberlain imparts to her students is based in African American kinetic orality. Chamberlain shared with me that she exclusively draws on the vocal training learned from her experience growing up in COGIC choirs, and in COGIC music culture generally, to teach her students both ensemble and solo singing. Although Gaunt argues that Black girls musical play is the DNA of African American hip-hop, I contend that Black girls musical play threads into much of Black American music (certainly those based in oral tradition), including the gospel music-culture of Chamberlain's experience. In proof of this point, I witnessed a telling video of two leading singers in the gospel music industry, Yolanda Adams and Donnie McClurkin. They were playing with Adam's daughter by teaching her an African American childhood game called "Pattin' Juba." The Juba game involves using the whole body: arms, legs, hand slaps, foot stomps, and the voice—as a whole, multi-faceted percussion instrument. I remember other gospel singers who were fellow jazz students at Howard talking about playing Juba as children.

Adams and McClurkin demonstrated every argument made by Gaunt. Juba is the "practical activity of musical play" that many Black children engaged in to inhabit an "in body formula" of Black music. As I watched them I kept thinking that the musicality that the

singers learned from “Pattin’ Juba” must translate into their adult musicianship, but how? Gaunt’s kinetic orality theory explains how. Chamberlain shared with me that she also played games such as these as a child. In observing gospel singers like Adams, McClurkin, or Chamberlain (or gospel choirs) it is easy to understand that their song performance involves not only their voices, but also that the story of the song as articulated with the whole body. Melody and rhythm (which are not approached as separate) are felt and articulated with the voice and body as one apparatus. This is the Black American kinetic orality that is learned in childhood made manifest in professionalized gospel singers. And this same embodied orality is what Chamberlain uses to teach her students. I must make the point that Chamberlain’s vocal students are well known throughout DCPS for their ensemble and solo performances. The solos that her students performed in *The Wiz* were very mature for elementary school students and completely infused with the Black gospel aesthetic: complex riffs, melodicized rhythmic embellishment, whole body story telling with gestures and dance movements, and the full, melodious vocal timbre that is the hallmark of gospel singing.

In closing, Chamberlain’s culturally responsive music education model is multi-faceted, dynamic and effective instruction for her African American students. This field study revealed that music instruction based in African American kinetic orality is a culture-specific means of music education instruction for Black American children. Additionally, teaching Black genres, from the Black musical theatre tradition and gospel vocal aesthetics is also culture specific to Black students. Finally, Chamberlain’s instruction on factually based West African history, her lesson on the Mali Empire, proved to empower her students by contesting pervasive racist depictions of their African past. The use of the *djembe* as an entry point into this history was an effective tangible example for young learners. Also, by teaching her students, through this lesson, the wide spread African value of respect for ancestors, Chamberlain used music to teach her African American students their African heritage.

Chapter 4: How Is African Heritage Taught through Music Education in Africa?

I preface this chapter about my field work on Botswana by first discussing my view of the value this field study. In my view, my research revealed that Botswanan primary schools use an ideal culturally responsive education model that could be wholly adapted for African American students. It is important to discuss the difference in the Botswana and African American positionality. The two situations are quite different in some ways: Setswana culture drives a national education program based on the majority Setswana ethnic group, while African Americans are an ethnic minority in the US. That being said, it is the commonalities that these two African derived cultures share that, in my view, makes the Botswanan approach to culturally responsive music education wholly appropriate for African American students.

Teaching Setswana Cultural/National Identity through Traditional Music in Botswana: An Ideal Culturally Responsive Music Education Model

From January to April 2017 I conducted an ethnomusicological field study in Botswana through a Fulbright fellowship to research how traditional music is used to teach Botswanan national identity in primary schools. My field research was structured around two questions: “What is Botswanan national identity?” and “How is Botswanan national identity taught to primary school students using music?” In addition to my research methodology that I described in the first chapter, I also observed how decisions were made about the curricula at the national level at the Department of Curriculum, Development and Evaluation, the section of Botswana’s Ministry of Education that facilitated my Fulbright fellowship. To give a full picture of the Botswanan model of culturally responsive music education, I will first give a brief overview of Botswanan national identity and then describe five key components that make this model affective.

Botswanan National Identity

Botswana's national identity is apparent in its name. *Bo-tswana* in Setswana language means "land of the Tswanas." The Tswana nation is the predominant ethnic group of Botswana. Thus, the national identity of Botswana is essentially synonymous with Setswana identity and culture. In an interview with the author on October 27, 2017, Funmi Arewa, Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Irvine illuminated that Botswana is very much like African-America because it the most culturally unitary country in Africa. In African-America this is because Black culture largely developed in the Southern United States, and pockets of the Eastern seaboard, as an intra-ethnic African informed culture. It was not until the Great Migration, spanning the period from 1915 to the 1950s, that African-American communities began to develop in other areas of the country. The question is, how did Botswana become a largely culturally unitary country when so many other African nations did not?

In the late nineteenth century, after the devastation of four hundred years of European Slave Trade, the African Continent was carved into territories to be governed by Western European imperial powers at the 1884-85 Berlin Conference. This "Scramble for Africa" formed colonial countries, except for Ethiopia, without regard for the ethnic groups that were being forced to live together as new nations. The European powers were chiefly concerned with gaining uninhibited access to Africa's natural resources, especially its mineral wealth, which would bring unparalleled riches to their own countries. It is actually ethnic tensions, and even full-scale wars, within contemporary African countries that are most often featured as international news headlines. Reference the Hausa massacre of Igbos in Nigeria that led to the 1967 Biafran war; the current terrorism of Boko Haram, also in Nigeria; and the 1994 Hutu slaughter of one million Tutsis, known as the Rwandan genocide. Even peaceful Ghana, upon independence in 1957, had to engage in unifying projects to bring together the country's multiple ethnic groups, like the creation of an inter-ethnic music-dance canon instituted by the

National Theatre. Botswana's history has laid a path for a very different present that is marked with a largely unified national identity. The founding fathers of Botswana, three paramount chiefs referred to as the "Three Kings," marked out the country's national and district boundaries according to the boundaries of traditional Tswana kingdoms. Botswana has been the land of the Tswana's, with a Tswana majority since the pre-colonial period, as a British protectorate and as an independent country. This unity is what allows for Setswana traditional music to be used to teach students national identity.

Contemporary Markers of National Identity

Contemporary markers of Botswana national identity are rooted in Setswana culture. Even the term for the country's citizenry, Botswana, is a Setswana word that means "many Tswanas," regardless of ethnic group. Individual citizens are referred to as Motswana, meaning one Tswana. Tswana language, called Setswana, is central to Botswana national identity and is the country's official language (in addition to English). As the country is essentially a conglomeration of Tswana kingdoms, traditional Setswana culture defines national identity. Overarching streams in discourses addressing national identity are the architects of the modern nation state and the patriarchs of traditional governance. A national monument of the Three Kings is located in Gaborone, the capital city. The airport, and many other institutions, are named for Seretse Khama, a Bangwato paramount chief who led the country to independence from Britain and became Botswana's first president. Photos of the president in 2017, Ian Khama, is Seretse Khama's son and the current Bangwato paramount chief, were highly visible on walls of every public establishment. The country's patriarchs, so to speak, are pictured on Botswana's currency, called *Pula*, which is a Setswana word that means rain and prosperity. Its fiftieth independence celebration in 2016, called Bots50, was celebrated nationwide with the country's flag painted on all kinds of surfaces. Dikgosi, the traditional leaders, hold a place of authority in the lives of most Botswanans. At the higher level, all paramount chiefs form an

official governmental body called the Ntlo Ya Dikgosi, the House of Chiefs. Marula fruit trees, unique to Botswana, are grown on the parliamentary plaza, in the central market, (called Main Mall), and at the national museum. Each ethnic Batswana has a "home village" and a *kgotla*, where a *kgosi*, a traditional chief, presides. The *kgotla* is the administrative center of each village, and each traditional kingdom has one as its capital. The *kgotla* is a core structure of Setswana culture. It is the place where village records are kept, where the *kgosi* judges disputes and where collective decisions are made. Batswana expressive culture includes festivals celebrating traditional music and culture that are held all over the country, and a traditional cloth called *letiese* or *German print* that is worn to weddings, cultural festivals, and other special occasions. Setswana lifeways, linked to agriculture, cattle raising, and family roles are regarded as defining factors of Batswana identity. Handwoven baskets that were traditionally used to store staple crops like sorghum are a national symbol. Botswana's national radio plays contemporary "Setswana music." All of these are the threads that make up the fabric of Batswana national identity that are taught to all primary students in government schools in multiple ways, with traditional music used as a major tool of instruction.

National Identity in Primary Schools

In Botswanan primary schools, national identity is taught to students in many ways. The way learning happens is exemplified in Bourdieu's anthropological theory of *habitus*. Within this context, students learn national identity through the structure of the school system and within the structural relationships between adults and students in schools, that are "like a thematic riff" (Moore 2012:300) of those in larger Batswana society. They also learn through the classroom environment and through direct instruction. The impact of Botswana's schools on its citizenry is far reaching because the country has a free, public (called government), nationalized education system that is funded by the wealth from the country's diamond industry (diamonds that belong solely to the country because they were discovered after British colonial

rule had ended.) The national school system is a major factor in the continuity of Batswana national identity.

Although there are many factors involved in Botswana's music education model, I observed that there were five elements that seemed to make it most affective. Therefore, I would like to conclude this chapter by discussing the following components of this culturally responsive model: 1.) curriculum decision makers/teachers who are culture bearers; 2) a curriculum centered in Africa 3) the cultural studies curriculum; 4) "cultural corners" and the classroom environment and 5) teaching music as culture.

Culture Bearers Make Curriculum Decisions

When Marion Barry was elected as Washington DC's first Black mayor, he made a statement in his inaugural address that resonates with the way curriculum decisions are made in Botswana. heralding his election as "chocolate city's" first Black mayor, he stated that the city would henceforth be "for us by us." (An abbreviation of this phrase, FUBU, became a popular African American colloquial term and fashion line in the 1990s.) Washington DC was a majority Black city, until recently, that came under the control of that majority. Having grown up in this area, and having lived in other areas of the country, I can see how having an African American-controlled city government influenced the character of the city. All aspects of African American culture were evident throughout DC—neighborhood murals, African American and African arts programming, Black artists who created posters for the public library system, etc. Black culture was all over and so were Black people. The same is true for Botswana, which is a country that is 97 percent Black (or indigenous African). This leads to a kind of antithesis to the point made in Chapter Three: how the White majority in the United States receives the largest number educational credentials, which creates White-controlled educational systems. In Botswana the reverse is true, with the difference being that there is no subjugated racial group that is negatively affected by these demographic realities. The Black

majority receives most, if not all of the educational credentials that allow for all curriculum decision makers and teachers of Botswana's students to also be culture bearers. Once again, the issue of positionality in giving a culturally responsive education for the young is inescapable. The positionality of Tswana professionals as culture bearers, that control the country's educational system, from every director and curriculum developer to every principal and vice principal, is the determining factor in how all aspects of the curricula are based in Setswana culture, especially music education. It is evident in the educational policy and professional development examples in Kenya, Ghana, and Tanzania discussed in chapter one, that the British colonial governments that formerly ruled these countries, including Botswana, made British culture the focus in the colonial education system. Essentially, the colonial project, in large part, was executed through educational institutions. Upon independence, these countries new indigenous Black leaders adopted "for us by us" attitudes-turned-educational policies that sought to center their students' culture in their education. Therefore, culturally responsive education is a part of the decolonizing process. Culture bearers who are the primary decision makers in the country's educational system explains why Botswana's culturally responsive music education model exists and is affective. This is what Karanga's second Kwanzaa principle is all about: *kujichagulia*, which in Swahili means self-determination.

An African-Centered Education

In Botswana, all aspects of student's education in primary school are centered in Africa, the Southern African region, and Botswanan national identity. In each classroom that I observed, I saw large maps of Africa and maps of Botswana. The science curriculum in some grades focuses on Botswana's national resources. The student's indigenous language receives privilege because the language of instruction from kindergarten to second grade is Setswana. Students learn how to read and write in Setswana, before transitioning to English from the third grade onward. Tschodotelo Morwe, a standard five teacher and deputy school head at

Theresanyo Primary, explained to me the approach that teachers use in teaching Batswana identity. They use an inward-out approach with the following instructional flow: Myself→ Family→ the Community (Authority Structures) → Country → Southern Africa (SADC) → Africa → the world. However, what also seems to be a key in this “African-centered” education is the teacher-student relationship.

The structural relationships between adults and students in schools facilitates how students learn about national identity. All of the teachers that I observed in the primary schools that I visited were Setswana culture bearers. They were all ethnically Batswana. All were fluent in Setswana language. This means that outside of instruction about Setswana culture, the relationship between teachers as adults and students as children flowed *according* to Setswana culture. In schools, the following functional aspect of Setswana culture applies, as explained by Dr. Morulaganyi Lochinvar Andrew Kgasa, a scholar of Setswana language and culture.

The first basic of Setswana culture is that all adults are parents of all children, regardless of whether or not the adults know the children or the children know the adults...because all adults are parents of all children, all adults are directly responsible to the actual parents and are therefore, free to reprimand or even spank children who misconduct themselves. Adults act as parents just as school teachers do... (Kgasa 2007: 1)

I observed that these values were in full operation at the primary schools that I visited, and everywhere that I traveled throughout the country. Teachers were treated with absolute respect and regarded their students as belonging to them. They were all a part of one community. In some schools, like St. Joseph’s Primary, teachers live on school grounds in small, quaint, houses. Teachers were also free to spank children, which is a Setswana cultural tradition. Many kept slim, supple, long, wooden, tree branches, which African-Americans call a “switch,” in their purses or underneath their desks. (This custom is also the tradition of many other African and African Diasporic cultures as well.) I was told over and over again that in Botswana all women are regarded as mothers and all men as fathers. “The more senior in age one is, the most respect he gets from all classes of society” (Kgasa 2007: 4). The proper and polite Setswana

greeting for all women is “Dumela Mma” (*mma* means mother or ma’am). For men it is “Dumela Rra,” meaning “hello father” or “hello sir.” Children, and therefore students, are expected to greet teachers and all staff with this exact greeting, accompanied by a small bow at the waist, with both hands pressed together. Parents are greeted in a similar fashion, but the child bends down on one knee for the greeting: hands are still clasped. “Generally speaking, children greet first” (Kgasa 2007: 2). In this aspect of the school environment, I observed Moore’s “thematic riff” of *habitus* being lived out in the relationship between teachers and students. Students’ characteristic interaction with teachers was never explicitly taught, the “culture of the school” was simply a variation, or “riff,” of Setswana culture at large—*Setswana habitus*. The principle of seniority that Dr. Kgasa explained is so prevalent in Setswana culture provided the “coherent thread” that caused students and teachers to be “active creators of a previously unheard of cultural experience,” as Moore puts it. Simply stated, the values and accompanying actions of Setswana culture simply carried over into the school environment. If adults spank children traditionally in the culture at large, then Batswana teachers and school leaders simply applied this cultural practice to the school environment. The *habitus* theory also accounts for why spanking continues, even though it has been officially banned by the Ministry of Education. Within these relationship structures, Batswana educators teach students the music content related to national identity.

Cultural Studies Curriculum

The Cultural Studies curriculum is required for all Batswana students from kindergarten through standard four. Four companies publish the curriculum, which is sold directly to schools or to parents at educational bookstores. All books are written by Batswana authors. Each cultural studies curriculum is based on the Lower Primary School Cultural Studies Syllabus, which was developed by the Department of Curriculum, Development, and Evaluation of the Ministry of Basic Education. Students are required to have five thirty-minute

periods, of which twenty percent must be used for “practical experiential work.” The syllabus states that this curriculum “helps learners to acquire knowledge and understanding of their society through appreciation and practice of their culture and a good sense of citizenship, thus promoting the all-around development of an individual” (Republic of Botswana 2002: 9). The term ‘society’ is used to refer to Botswana as a nation. In other words, this curriculum is designed to teach students what it means to be a Batswana citizen and what it means to be culturally or ethnically Batswana. Teachers use lessons on traditional music to teach Setswana cultural identity, values and structures, in connection with components of this curriculum.

The cultural studies curriculum serves as the foundation for the culturally responsive music instruction that I observed. These music lessons use an ethnomusicological approach. Instead of teaching an isolated song, for example, that a teacher explains within its cultural context, the teacher uses the curriculum to first teach an aspect of Setswana culture. Then she teaches the associated songs. The curriculum is also effective because it was written by Batswana authors, and is based not only in research but also on the lived experiences of the writers. Finally, it is inclusive of the regional variances of Batswana culture.

Cultural Corners and the Classroom Environment

Cultural corners and the classroom environment were a key factor in Botswana’s culturally responsive education model. Batswana primary school classrooms completely reflect Batswana national identity and include major elements of traditional Setswana culture. Setswana language posters decorate walls of classrooms. The Botswanan government requires that all upper and lower primary school classrooms (kindergarten through standard seven) have what is called a “cultural corner” (Ntapu 2017). I observed one in every classroom that I visited, without fail. Some were sparse, some elaborate, but they were always there. Cultural corners are very important for students’ understanding of national identity. They not only accompany the Cultural Studies curriculum, but also provide a tangible, visual definition of Setswana

culture for students, with a focus on traditional culture. Children need tangibles. These displays featured major markers of Batswana national identity, all clearly labeled, and often sectioned off with rocks and filled in with soil or gravel. The soil and gravel reference the traditional Setswana agrarian way of life. Setswana cultural identity is inextricably connected with Botswana's land. Many of these cultural corners included a model of a traditional home, which is referred to as a "*rondavel*." Most included hand-made baskets, presented in their traditional function, which is to store staple foods like sorghum, beans, maize, and dried *mogogo* (which is like collard greens). Some featured small carvings or photographs of animals like giraffes, which are regarded as a natural resource. Many featured a model of a *kgotla*, traditional brooms and drinking gourds used for traditional beer. These cultural corners alone show students Tswana lifeways that have spanned hundreds of years, passed down from generation to generation. Traditional culture is associated with the agrarian lifestyle, which includes growing staple crops and raising cattle. All aspects of Batswana traditional culture are linked to this way of life, including political structures, gender roles, family roles and annual events like harvest festivals. Instrumental traditions and several common children's games are linked to caring for cattle, vocal traditions are linked to community work, called *letsuma*, which includes building houses and cattle posts, and clearing land for planting fields. While many families might not live a completely agrarian lifestyle these days, live in cities and have jobs outside of home, the traditional way of life is presented to students. It is upheld by the general population as a cultural ideal and is central to their Setswana cultural identity.

Teaching Music as Culture

As I walked into Sister Pearl Gosego Ntapu's standard two classroom at St. Joseph's Primary School, bright colors shouted a greeting. Beautiful cultural artifacts were artfully laid out in one corner of the room. Smiling brown children sat with hands folded at long rows of tables. Pencils were sharpened and notebooks neatly organized. Worksheets of 'nuclear family members,' and faces making up family tree diagrams had been carefully colored by each child. After a while, Sister Pearl beckoned the

children to stand for a song... (St. Joseph's Primary School, Gaborone Botswana, February 2017)

Batswana educators most often teach students traditional music in connection with lessons about Setswana cultural identity, values, and structures. I observed numerous lessons and performances of traditional music during my field visits at Ledumong, St. Joseph's, Lesedi, and Theresanyo Primary Schools. Students learned and performed music associated with lifecycle events like Setswana wedding customs, the Setswana baby-naming ceremony (*Mantshoa Ngwana*), traditional children's game songs (which are also a common part of free play at recess), common children's songs, and music associated with *kgotla*-centered events, like *Dikgafela*, the harvest festival. There are also many common Batswana children's songs that teach the identity of self and family. I observed many lessons that included these songs to teach students about family roles and will highlight two brief examples.

At Lesedi Primary school, a standard-four class performed a song called *Bogolugolu* in connection with a family roles lesson. The lesson was about the traditional roles that grandmothers play in the family and is set in a call and response structure. The teacher sang the "call" and students sang the "response." The tempo was slow, at about a ninety-metronome marking, in a 4/4 time signature. The student sang in harmonies using triads, fourths, and fifths, which is characteristic of Batswana choral music. The lyrics in English are:

Call - *In the olden days our grandmothers...*

Response – *Our grandmothers used to tell us folktale*

The student's performance of this song is a straightforward example of traditional music that teaches traditional Setswana family roles. The principle of seniority, as Dr. Kgasa explained, is a part of Batswana national identity. As I mentioned before, within Setswana culture, elders are highly regarded. Dr. Kgasa explains the role of grandmothers and elders in traditional Setswana culture.

Old people are stores of oral history and young people look up them... not as a burden, but as a treasure because, through his words of wisdom they can shape their lives in a better way. So grandparents are a living encyclopedia and when they are gone the grandchildren feed on them (7).

It is important to note that Dr. Kgasa wrote *The Basis of Functional Aspects of Setswana Culture* with the goal to “create awareness among nation’s representatives in Botswana of how the Botswana pattern of life is framed, in spite of its disintegration as Botswana absorbs more and more western patterns of life.” Perhaps this was also the motivation of the government to implement the cultural studies curriculum.

I observed another family roles lesson in the classroom of Sister Pearl Goseso Ntapu, the standard two teacher at St. Joseph’s Primary School. The following is a description of the lesson.

The standard two classroom is a free-standing building on the school grounds, across from and next to three other identical buildings. Steps lead to a simple doorway that opens into an inviting classroom. Windows border each side and sunlight streamed in. It was in the middle of summer. A Black chalkboard, marked with neat, printed words written in White chalk, spanned the front wall of the classroom. Brightly colored, laminated construction paper animals and multi-colored red, blue, green and yellow paper chains hung from the ceiling. Sister Pearl has set up an elaborate cultural corner on a traditional mat made of reeds. Handwoven Batswana baskets were filled with sorghum, beans mopane worms and mogogo. The corner featured a miniature traditional rondavel and kgotla. Each item is clearly labeled. In between the windows on the left wall, is a bulletin board labeled “Cultural Studies.” It features laminated, captioned illustrations entitled, “Family Roles and Responsibilities,” “Nuclear Family,” “Extended Family,” “Family Tree,” “Speaking For Yourself,” and “Decision Making.” A sea of about thirty, excited-looking brown children, wearing St. Joseph’s light blue polo shirt and dark blue slacks or skirts sat smiling along three long rows of desks that formed vertical tables. Sister Pearl was dressed in a Black nun’s habit, smiling with a jubilant aura. She led the students in singing a children’s song in Setswana. The song follows a call and response structure. Sister Pearl sings the “call,” the children the “response.” As the children sang, they made corresponding movements. She stops the songs and instructs the children in Setswana to move with more energy. Throughout the song, the children mimicked carrying water on their heads, walking with an ax and carrying a load on their heads. The children repeated the last line of the song several times, while marching in rhythm. As they repeated, Sister Pearl ululated, a high shrill sound that Motswana woman make to show joy. After several more repetitions of the last line, the song ended, and the children sat down. (Gaborone, Botswana, February 15, 2017)

When the song ended, Sister Pearl continued with the lesson by asking the children what they learned from the song about roles of the nuclear family. She asked who the father, mother,

sister, and brothers were in the family. The students said that the father is “the head of the family” and that his role is to “take care of domestic animals,” “take care of the family,” “buy the children’s clothes,” and “work and bring money to the family.” When questioned by Sister Pearl on the role of the mother that they learned from the song, the students raised their hands, and when called upon said that the mother “cooks for the family,” “takes care of the family,” “washes the dishes,” and “washes clothes for the children.” When questioned about their work in the family, the students shared answers like “I help my mother to wash dishes,” or “I help my mother to clean the house.” One boy said that he helped his brother wash his uniform. Sister Pearl corrected him and said he helps his mother because “it is the role of the mother to wash the children’s clothes.” This “correction” demonstrates that these traditional roles might not be lived out in the daily lives of Batswana families exactly as they are being taught. However, the fact that Sister Pearl felt it was appropriate to correct him demonstrates further that these family roles are being taught as cultural ideals. Sister Pearl then called children up to the front of the classroom in small groups to act out small skits about the nuclear family roles. A small boy played the “father,” and a girl the “mother.” The “father” sat in a traditional *kgotla* chair. The “mother” sat on the floor beside him, with her legs crossed at the ankle. This is also the way women and men are traditionally seated at the *kgotla*. The “children” of the family were one girls and one boy. The girls sang a play song in English together with the following lyrics.

Rain, rain, rain
Let it come
Let it fall and water our plants
Fill our rivers (pronounced rivas)
We shall have water enough to drink,
Wash and cook, cook
Wash and cook, cook

When the girls sang the “cook, cook” part of the lyrics, they did a little dance that involved twisting their hips while bending down. After this, the “children” walked up to the mother and said, “Mother, I am hungry.” The “father” picked up a miniature ax and walked with the “son”

out of the door. They came back with a stack of tree branches, fire wood, and put them down in front of the “mother.” She then picked up small, Black iron pot from the cultural corner that was labeled, “traditional cooking pot,” and placed it over the fire wood. She picked up a long-handled spoon, also from the cultural corner, and began stirring a pretend meal. As she was doing this, Sister Pearl led the whole class in another song in Setswana. The song is about the mother of the family preparing sorghum and milking cows to feed hungry children.

The songs the children performed defines the traditional roles of the homestead, which is traditionally called the *lolwapa*.

It is a group of houses fenced in. Although the man is theoretically the head of the family, in practice, a lolwapa is run by the wife...A lolwapa is the centre of the upbringing of all children. Husband and wife discuss day to day administration in the lolwapa...So important is the lolwape that we say, *Motse o kwa lwapeng*,” literally meaning, “the town develops from a lolwapa that the children are brought up. (Kgasa 2007: 5).

With this explanation, Dr. Kgasa explains that family, a man married to a women with children living on traditional homestead, is the basis of traditional Setswana society. And that is the structure that Sister Pearl taught to her students using these traditional songs.

In closing, culturally responsive music education models in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania, as well as my field work in Botswana, revealed an approach to music teaching that is a vehicle for decolonization. These models can potentially be used as liberation tool for African American children if similar approaches are adopted in the United States. The Batswana approach to culturally responsive education reveals that all influential factors in education must be informed by the students’ culture. This model is effective because policy makers are culture bearers, the school environments and relational structures flow according to *Setswana habitus*, and all aspects of the curriculum are African centered. Within this structure teachers, who are culture bearers, draw from a cultural studies curriculum to teach music as culture. In a sense, Botswana’s culturally responsive music education model is “ethnomusicology in action.”

Conclusion: The Black Power Classroom - A Culturally Responsive Music Education Model for African American Children

My goal and objective with this thesis was to develop a culturally responsive music education model for African American children. The need for this approach was made clear in Chapter One with discussions about the historical and contemporary psychological assault on Black Americans through racial pseudo-science, racial assimilation agendas, minstrelsy, and the historical distortion of the African origins of African Americans that continues into the present. From literature on culture-specific music education in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania, we learn how important it is for national policies to support, fund, and drive forward this instruction within the context of decolonization. The examples from these countries also provide rich curricular information and show how teaching traditional African instruments and vocal traditions can serve as a powerful method for teaching heritage.

In Chapter Two, I examined the history of coloniality in Black education and the damaging effects of a Eurocentric curriculum on Black children. This Black disempowerment points to the need for a long-term, well-resourced, and institutionalized solution that can facilitate Black empowerment. That is what the Black power classroom is all about—using music to facilitate the decolonial process in Black children by teaching them their African/African American heritage using African American instructional methodologies.

My field study in Allyson Chamberlain's classroom at Moten Elementary School, examination of culturally responsive music education methods and policies in several African countries, in-depth field study on how traditional music is used to teach Setswana cultural identity in Botswanan primary schools, and successes in my own classroom provide a tool kit of methods and structures to accomplish this. Each of these points of inquiry reveals the components that are necessary to make such models successful. From Chamberlain's classroom we learn that culturally responsive music education for Black students should be

based in African American orality. We also learn that an effective instructional approach is to employ African American music-dance culture. My field study in Chamberlain's classroom also revealed the effectiveness of teaching African heritage using organological instruction. Through my own instruction co-teaching with Chamberlain, and in my own music classroom, we learn that using songs written using the general principles of African music to teach African history as African American heritage can also be another potent culturally responsive instructional method. Furthermore, Chamberlain's instruction based in kinetic orality resonates with how African American children learn their music-culture.

Finally, my field study in Botswana reveals a complete paradigm for the culturally responsive model that is a synergy of educational policy, curriculum, and instruction. We learn from Botswana that policy makers who are culture bearers advocate for and implement curriculum, along with other classroom mandates like "culture corners" that ensure culturally responsive education. We also learn how teachers who are also culture bearers are able to draw from their own experiences to teach Botswana children a Setswana cultural identity using traditional music associated with many different aspects of Setswana culture. And with this point, I turn to African America.

When it comes to African America, and the education of Black children, the issue of positionality must be considered in every aspect. Why must we look to African models of culturally responsive music education to teach to African American children the African elements of their background? Because African Americans are originally from Africa. The issue of the African American versus Ghanaian or Botswanan positionality is especially sensitive regarding employing tools from these countries because of Black American's history and demographic position in the country. To advocate for more music teachers who are African American culture bearers, teacher training and special certifications that include culturally responsive music education methodology specific to African American children, as

well as for policies/laws that fund restorative culturally responsive music programs, means that we will have to assert that these goals are a civil right. Making these gains will be a fight. And that is the duality of the Black Power Classroom. Such an education is not only about Black empowerment, but also about the assertion that African Americans must be equally served by the US education system. I mean for this thesis to add to the turning of the tide: the reflexiveness that is slowly but surely beginning to happen in some school systems that are beginning to earnestly consider that Black students should receive culturally affirming instruction. I have tasked myself to ensure with my research and work that all African American children are educated in a Black Power Classroom. Just like the Civil Rights Movement resulted in sweeping legislation that put an end to legal racial segregation, and radically changed the country, there will come a time when we win this battle as well. Eventually, the necessary structures like laws, policies, mandates and funding that will enable well-equipped music teachers to deliver culturally responsive music models to African American children will be in place. And that is when the abundant body of research on Black musics and cultures that has been amassed in the field of ethnomusicology since its inception will be able to be put into action nationwide. Until then, we research, we write, and we wait for the signal.

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